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the 1990s, the number of publications on the topic has increased steadily, and the number of authors has increased from 10 in 1990 to 28 in 2005. The number of authors per paper has also increased, from a mean of 1.8 in 1990 to 2.8 in 2005. The number of papers published per year has increased from 10 in 1990 to 28 in 2005.

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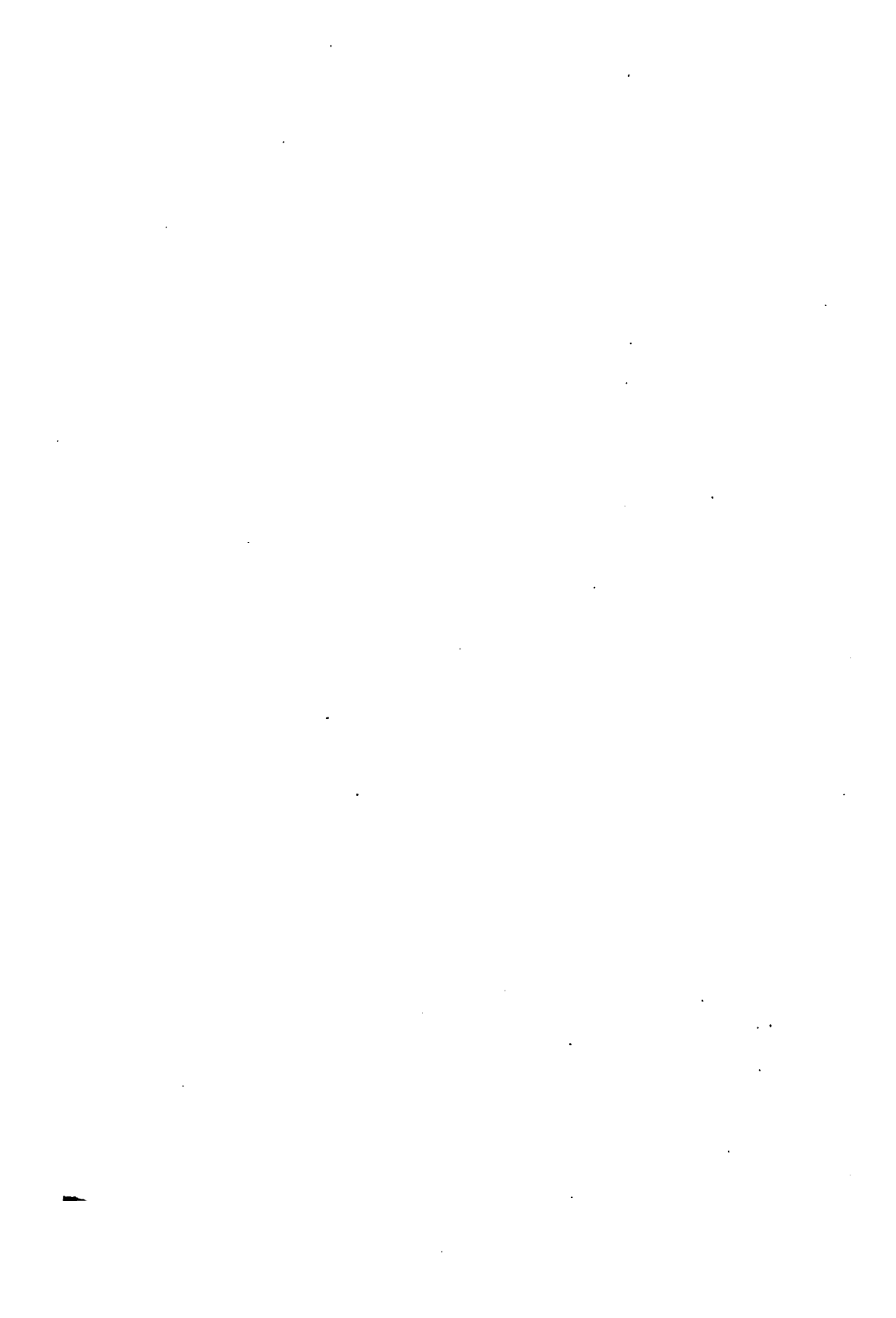
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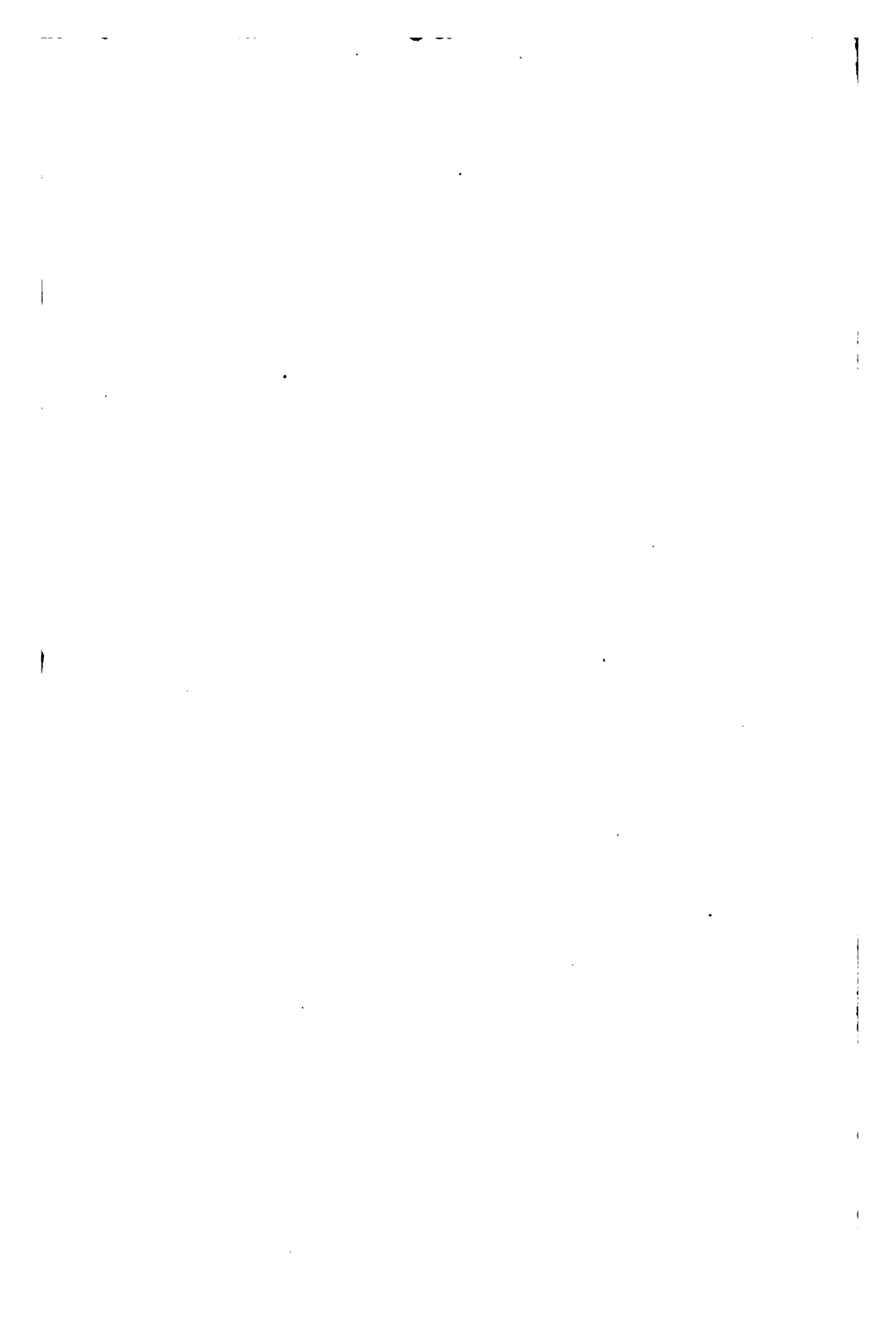
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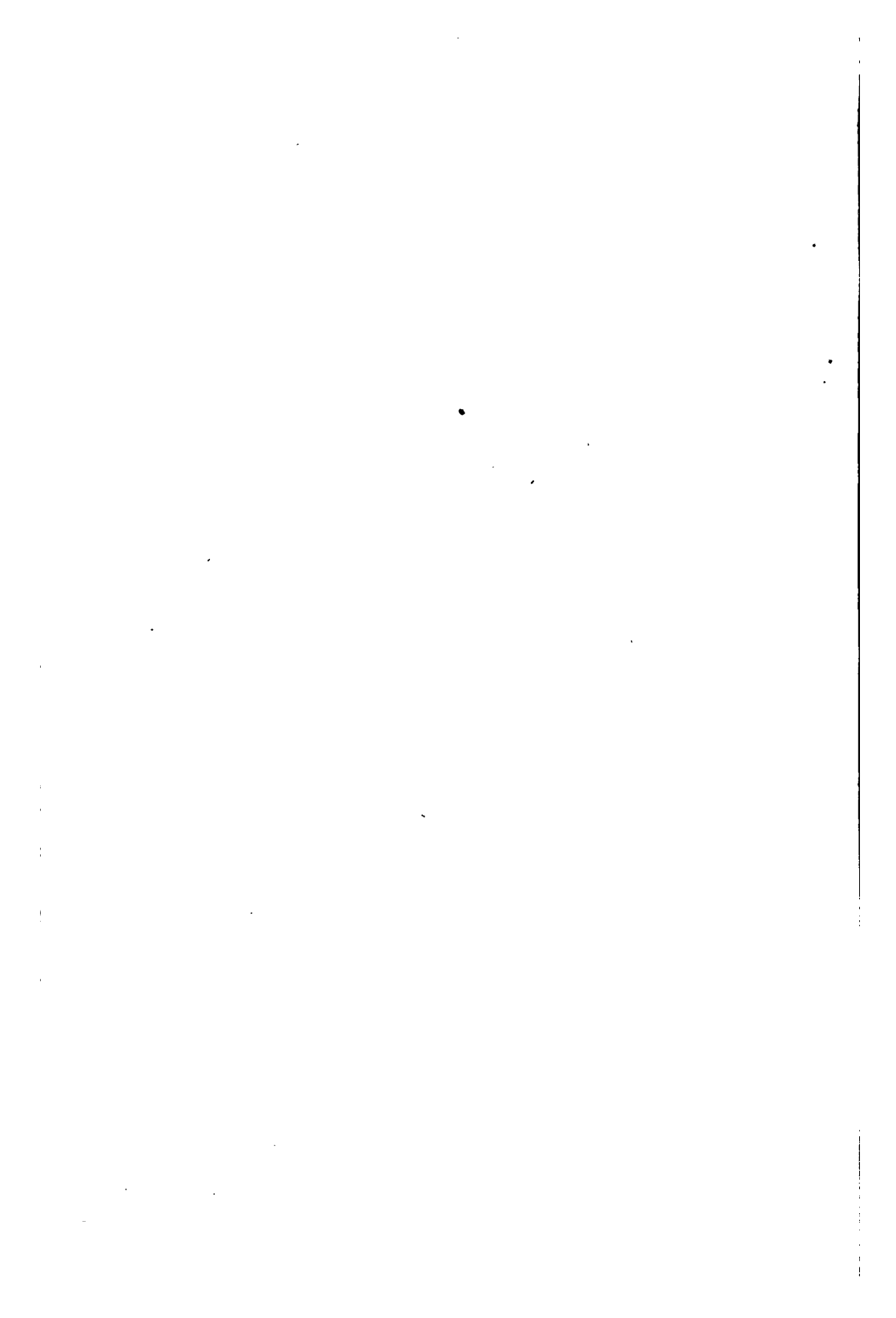
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SOUTH AMERICA.

“ Fall'n nations gaze on Spain ; if freed, she frees
More than her fell Pizarros once enchain'd ;
Strange retribution I now Columbia's ease
Repairs the wrongs that Quito's sons sustain'd.”

Childe Harold.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE
SOUTH AMERICA

DURING

THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

BY

ROBERT GRANT WATSON,
EDITOR OF "MURRAY'S HANDBOOK OF GREECE," FOURTH EDITION, 1872.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.
1884.

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TO

SIR JAMES HUDSON, G.C.B.,

ETC. ETC. ETC.

THE MOST DISTINGUISHED BRITISH DIPLOMATIST OF THE REIGN
OF QUEEN VICTORIA,

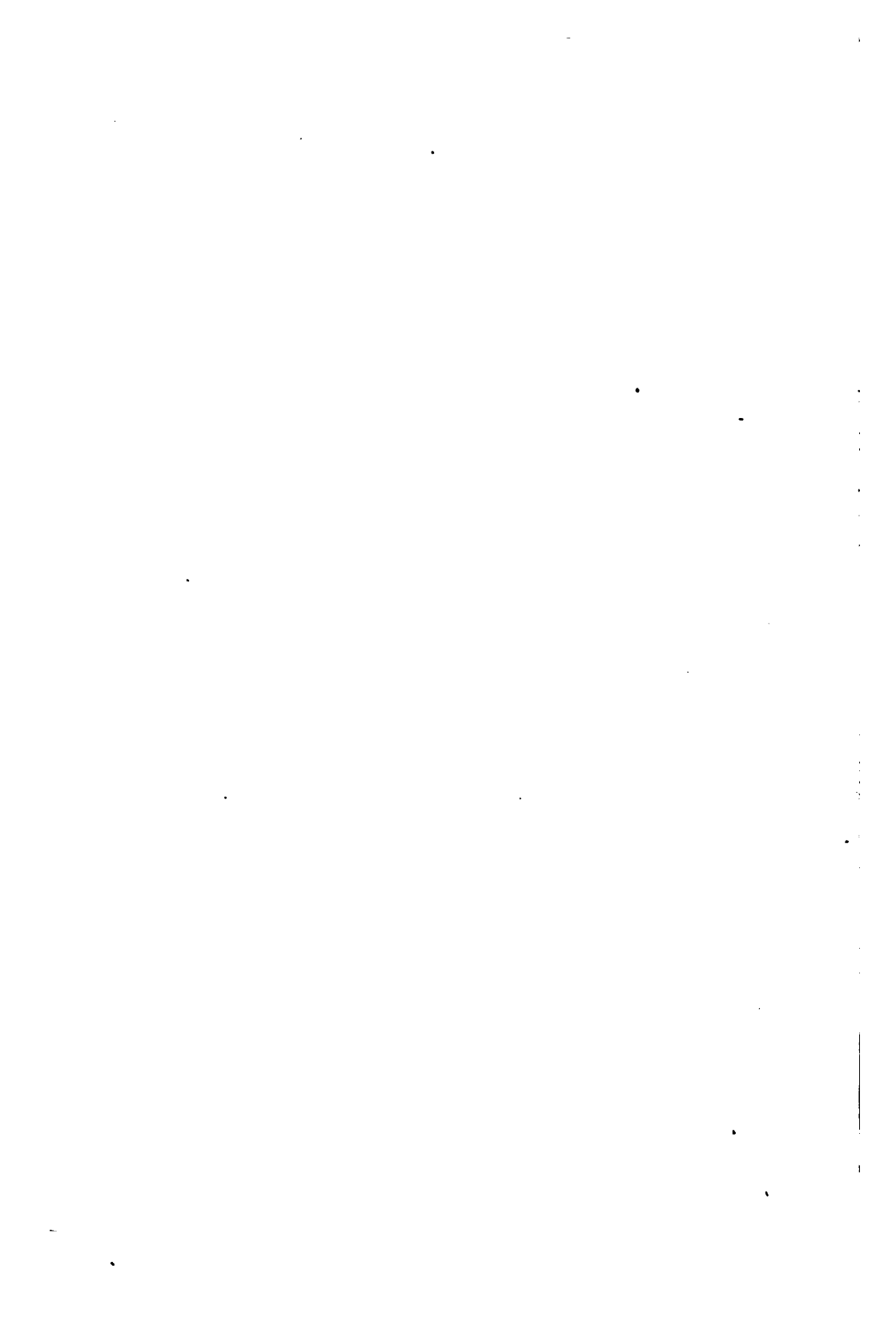
AS HAVING BEEN THE MEANS OF PUTTING AN END TO
THE SLAVE TRADE WITH BRAZIL ;

AND LIKEWISE

AS HAVING CONTRIBUTED IN A MARKED DEGREE TO THE UNIFICATION
AND FREEDOM OF ITALY,

These Volumes

ARE, WITH THE HIGHEST RESPECT, INSCRIBED.



P R E F A C E.

THE following account of the Colonies from which sprang the States of South America owes its origin to the want of such a work felt by myself some years ago. In 1866 I received the appointment of second Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation in the *Argentine Republic* and *Paraguay*. My previous experience having been in quite another part of the world, I had all to learn respecting the regions which I was about to visit. The only book which had been recommended to me was Sir Woodbine Parish's work on *Buenos Ayres*. On reaching my destination, however, I found that this work was already out of date ; I also found that there was a considerable amount of literature respecting South America. But this literature being partly in English, French, German, Dutch, Latin, or Italian, and partly in Spanish or Portuguese, was only accessible to persons possessing a reading knowledge of the above-named languages.

Of two years in South America I passed one as Secretary at *Buenos Ayres*, and the other in a similar capacity at *Rio de Janeiro*. During the first year I was sent up the *Uruguay* and to the Province of *Santa Fè* ; then to the Welsh colony on the *Chupat* river in *Patagonia* ; and, lastly, to the then seat of war in *Paraguay* : in the

second year I went on a mission to the Province of *Minas Geraes* in *Brazil*. I had thus opportunities of seeing different parts of the continent, and of becoming more impressed with the want of a work giving anything like a complete account of them.

On my return to Europe I was employed in several countries for a number of years in succession, and have only recently found the necessary leisure to compose a work of the kind mentioned. The materials at my disposal are voluminous; but my effort has been to make this Review as concise as is consistent with clearness. In offering it to the Public I by no means desire it to take the place of the more elaborate and original works referred to in it, but rather to serve as an Index to the contents of these various works.

The History of South America may contain much of general interest; it possesses, moreover, a special interest for merchants, settlers, sailors, and travellers, who may have passed, or may be likely to pass, a portion of their lives on the continent in question; nor should some knowledge of an important portion of the globe be excluded from the sphere of inquiry of any educated person.

That the merest elementary acquaintance with South American geography and politics may be conspicuously absent even in educated English circles, may be gathered from the following circumstances within my own experience:—On my return to England in 1868, I happened to be present on the annual speech-day at Harrow. At luncheon there I sat next to a gentleman whose remarks on the unusual heat of the weather led to his learning that I had recently come from *Rio de Janeiro*. His interest being excited, he asked me to tell him, one by one,

the several stages by which one arrived there from England, viz.—Southampton, Lisbon, *St. Vincent, Pernambuco, Bahia*, and *Rio*. When I had named the last point he repeated the inquiry, “and then?” to which I replied that *then* one was at one’s destination.—“But,” he asked, “I thought *Rio* was up a river?” I suggested that he was perhaps misled by the name “*Rio de Janeiro*,” the River of January, but said that the town was situated on an arm of the sea, which the first European explorers had mistaken for a stream, naming it after the month of the year on which it was discovered. But this explanation did not satisfy him. He was thinking of some other river: would I name one or two? I suggested “*The Amazons*,” which he said was the stream he meant, until I informed him that it lay about two thousand miles to the north of *Rio de Janeiro*! On this he remarked that there was surely another great stream in that quarter, and that he must have mistaken the name. I suggested the river *Plate*, to which he answered “Yes, yes, of course;” but his speculations collapsed when I informed him that the river *Plate* was about a thousand and fifty miles to the south of the Brazilian capital.

About the same time I met at a dinner-party a well-known Member of Parliament, who, on learning the quarter of the world from which I had recently arrived, professed himself as being most anxious to hear something about the *Paraguayan* War, then much talked of, and the progress of which he said he had followed with close attention. I began with a statement of the contending parties—namely, *Paraguay* on the one hand, and *Brazil*, the *Argentine Republic*, and the Republic of *Uruguay* on the other. “But stop,” he said

“You have omitted to mention *Corrientes*.” I answered that to quote *Corrientes* as being one of the parties to the war would be the same as to mention Yorkshire as having been one of the principals of the Crimean War—since *Corrientes* was merely a province of the *Argentine Republic*. This was a new light to him; the name had so taken hold of his memory that he was at first inclined to argue with me as to the correctness of my statement.

Lest this gentleman should appear exceptionally uninformed, I may mention that, as I had subsequent opportunities of ascertaining, even some men holding high office in the Royal Geographical Society—who were familiar with the latest discoveries near the North Pole and in the interior of Africa, with Central Asia, and with Australia—had somehow in their range of study overlooked South America.

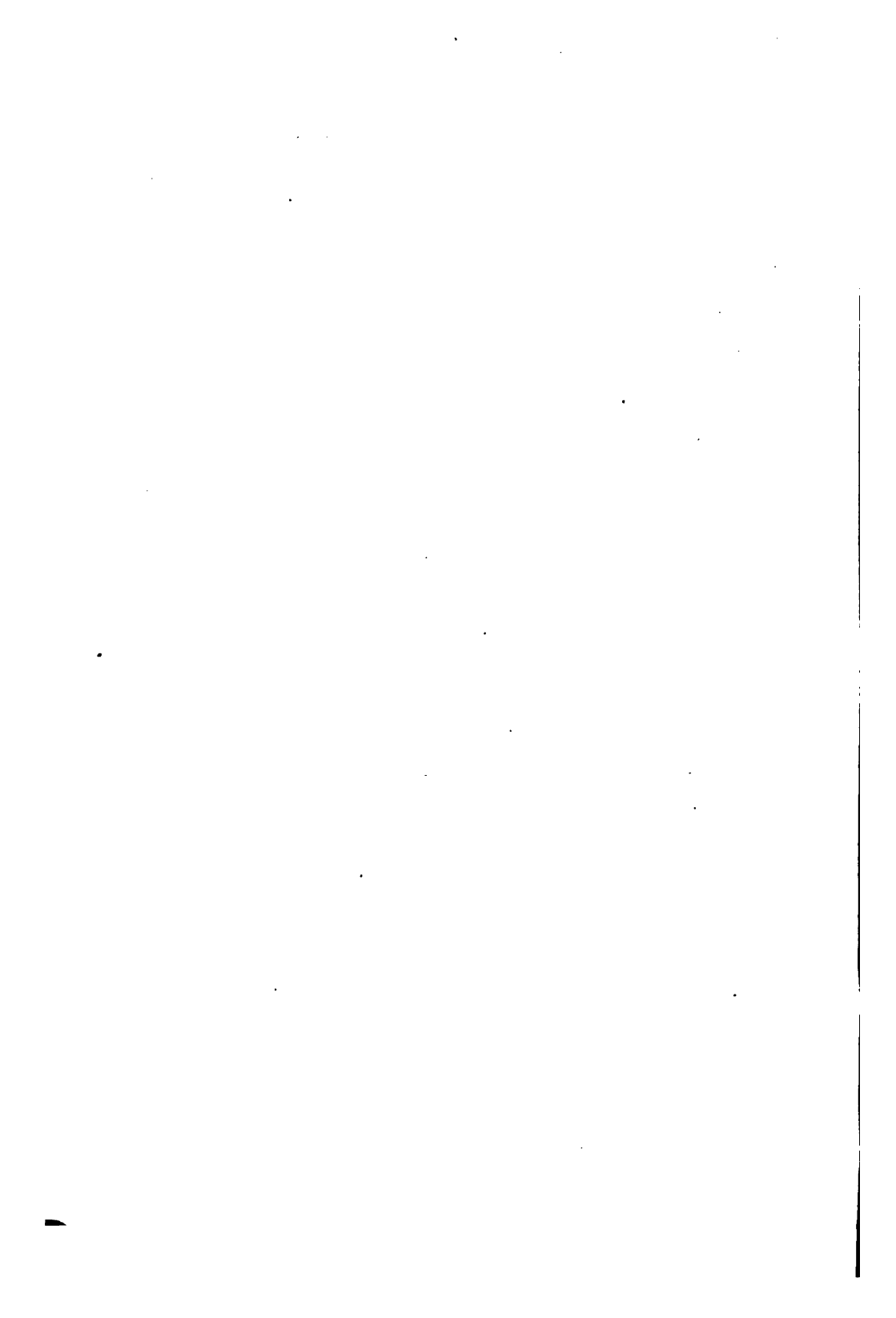
In writing history, one man necessarily builds upon another man's foundation. It was my first intention to compose a wholly original work, comprising the history of the several states of South America from the discovery of that Continent to the present day; but reflection convinced me that the execution of such a plan would require the labour of many years, even were all circumstances favourable. Various writers have formed schemes, the labour entailed by the magnitude of which has led to their collapse. As one example amongst many may be mentioned the scholar Muñoz, who employed nearly fifty years in amassing materials for a history of Spanish discovery and conquest in America, but who had scarcely finished the first volume when he died.

Even were one to attempt to produce an entirely original history of the early Portuguese South America,

it would necessarily prove defective in comparison with Southey's "History of *Brazil*." In the preface to his work, that author says of it, under date of 1810, "For " the greater part of the last century printed documents " almost entirely fail. A collection of manuscripts not " less extensive than curious, and which is not to be " equalled in England, enables me to supply this chasm " in history. The collection was formed during a residence " of more than thirty years in Portugal, by a relative. " Without the assistance which I have received from " him, it would have been hopeless to undertake, and " impossible to complete it." With the above instances before me, I have felt it necessary to content myself with writing a historical Review respecting the several Spanish and Portuguese Colonies from which sprang the various countries which collectively form political South America.

R. G. W.

London, 1884.



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SOUTH AMERICA.

Book I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

1498-1503.

UNTIL the approach of the sixteenth century the South American continent, in so far as European knowledge was concerned, was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep that encompassed it. At that time the Spirit of God that moved upon the face of the waters said, "Let there be light;" and there was light. 1498.

On the 30th of May 1498 Columbus set sail from *San Lucar de Barrameda*, with a squadron of six vessels, on his third voyage of discovery, taking a course much further to the south than that which he had hitherto pursued. He stood to the south-west after leaving *San Lucar*; touching at the islands of *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*, where he remained a few days, taking in supplies before continuing his course to the *Canary* Islands. On the 19th of June he arrived at *Gomara*. Leaving *Gomara* two days later, Columbus divided his squadron off the island of *Ferro*, three of his ships being despatched to *Hispaniola* with supplies for the colony. With the three remaining vessels the admiral continued his voyage towards the *Cape de Verde* Islands, where he arrived on the 27th of June.

Leaving the island of *Buena Vista* on the 5th of July,

Columbus stood to the south-west. The volcanic summit of *Fuego* was the last point visible of the Old World. On the 13th of July he found himself in the fifth degree of north latitude, in that region which extends for some ten degrees on each side of the line, and is known among mariners as the calm latitudes. There the trade winds from the south-east and north-east, meeting near the equator, neutralize each other. The sea is as a lake of oil, and vessels with their flapping sails appear as if they were destined to remain stationary for ever. The calm lasted for eight days, the air being like a furnace. The mariners lost all strength and spirit beneath the oppressive heat. In addition to sharing the sufferings of those around him, Columbus was at this time afflicted with an attack of gout; but his energy of mind overcame his bodily distress. To escape the heat he altered his course and steered to the south-west.

After making his way slowly for some time to the westward, through calms and mists and heat, the admiral emerged into a region blessed by a cooling breeze that filled his sails and dispelled the mists. The sky became clear, and the sun no longer gave forth an intolerable heat. The ships had been so dried by the parching weather that they leaked excessively, and it was necessary to seek a harbour without delay. He therefore kept on directly to the west; but as no land appeared, he altered his course to the northward, in search of the *Caribbee* Islands. By the 31st of July there was but one cask of water remaining in each ship, when the man on the look-out gave the cry of "land." Three mountain tops were visible on the distant horizon; but as the vessels neared them, these three were seen to be one. It was an emblem of the Holy Trinity, after whom the pious Columbus in his distress had determined to name the first land he should behold. There was thus a peculiar appropriateness in giving to this island, which lies immediately off the South American coast, the name of *La Trinidad*.

On the following day Columbus coasted westward in search of water and of a convenient harbour. There was indeed no lack of water, for he beheld groves of palm-trees and forests rising from the sea-shore amidst running streams. He found the country cultivated in many parts, and having villages and scattered habitations. It produced so pleasant an impression on his mind that, in his letter describing it to Ferdinand and Isabella, he compared its appearance to that of the Spanish province of Valencia in the early spring. At a point to which he gave the name of *La Playa*, he sent his boats on shore for water. The inhabitants had taken to flight; his men found their footprints as they did the traces of deer.

While coasting *Trinidad*, Columbus beheld land stretching twenty leagues to the south. It was the low coast intersected by the mouths of the *Orinoco*. It does not appear that either the admiral or any of his men landed on this coast; and they sailed away from it, ignorant of the fact that they were the first Europeans who had looked on the *terra firma* or mainland of South America. On the 2nd of August Columbus continued his course to the south-west point of *Trinidad*, which he called *Punta Arenal*, and where his crews were permitted to land and refresh themselves. The anchorage at this place was, however, extremely insecure, and in the night-time Columbus trembled for the safety of his squadron, owing to a sudden rush of water caused by the swelling of one of the rivers which flow into the Gulf of *Paria*, and which tore one of his ships from her anchorage. He was, however, so fortunate as to escape without injury, and on the following day he passed in safety the formidable strait lying between the island and the mainland, and found himself in a tranquil sea beyond. He was now on the inner side of *Trinidad*, with the Gulf of *Paria* on his left.

The admiral now shaped his course northwards, steering for a mountain at the north-western point of *Trinidad*.

On nearing it he beheld two lofty capes opposite each other, the one on the island, the other on the promontory of *Paria*, which stretches far out from the mainland. Between these capes there was another strait, which appeared even more dangerous than that he had left behind him, and to which, owing to its formidable appearance, he gave the name of *Boca del Drago*, or the Dragon's Mouth. In order to avoid it he steered westward, under the belief that the promontory of *Paria* was an island. He found the beautiful coast indented with fine harbours, and the country in some places cultivated and in others covered with forest. He was greatly surprised to find the water become fresher and fresher as he proceeded, and likewise to find the sea as tranquil as if it were a vast harbour.

Up to this time he had held no communication with the people of the mainland, although he had in vain endeavoured to enter into parley with the inhabitants of *Trinidad* at *Punta Arenal*. After sailing for several leagues along the coast, he anchored on the 6th of August, and sent his boats on shore. Although traces of men were found, not a soul was to be seen. Columbus therefore proceeded further westward, and once more anchored. Here a canoe came off to the nearest *caravel*, the captain of which contrived to secure the three or four Indians which it bore. They were brought to the admiral, from whom they received beads and hawk's-bells, with which they returned delighted to the shore, and which induced their countrymen to come to the ships in numbers, bringing with them bread, maize, and other articles of food.

Taking with him several of these natives to serve as guides, Columbus proceeded eight leagues still further to the westward, and anchored at a lovely point, to which he gave the name of *Aguja*, or the Needle. The country was highly populous, and was possessed of magnificent vegetation. The natives were friendly, and invited the

admiral, in the name of their king, to come to land. Many of them wore collars of an inferior kind of gold, which they called *guanin*. But what chiefly attracted the attention of the Spaniards, was the sight of strings of pearls which they wore round their arms, and which they said were procured on the sea-coast to the north of *Paria*. In order to obtain specimens of these treasures, Columbus sent his boats on shore; his people being received with profound respect on the beach by the natives, headed by their *cacique*, and being regaled to the best of their ability. The Spaniards had no difficulty in obtaining the objects of their desire, the Indians gladly parting with their necklaces and bracelets in exchange for hawks'-bells or articles of brass. It is to the credit of Columbus, in that age of violence towards inferior races, that no act is recorded showing ingratitude for the favour with which he and his men were received on this the first occasion when Europeans mixed with inhabitants of the mainland of South America.

Still imagining the coast of *Paria* to be an island, the admiral left this lovely spot and again set sail, coasting to the westward in search for an outlet to the north. He found the water, however, growing shallower and fresher, so that he could not venture to proceed any further with his own ship. He therefore came to anchor, and sent forward a *caravel* to ascertain whether there was an outlet to the ocean. On the following day he learned, on its return, that there was an inner gulf beyond, which contained the mouths of four great rivers, the waters of which sweetened the neighbouring sea. As it was impossible to proceed further westward, he had no alternative but to retrace his way and seek an exit by "the mouth of the Dragon." Although he would gladly have remained to explore this opulent coast, he was compelled, as well by the condition of his health as by the scarcity of sea-stores in his ships, to hasten his departure for *Hispaniola*.

The admiral, therefore, on the 11th of August, set sail eastwards, and was borne along swiftly by the currents. On the 13th, he anchored near to the strait; and on the following day, towards noon, the ships approached the *Boca del Drago*. The mouth of this formidable ocean-pass is about five leagues wide; but there are two islands lying between its extremities. The immense body of fresh water which flows through the gulf in the rainy season, meeting the incoming waves, causes a terrific commotion extremely dangerous to ships; and this was the first occasion on which vessels were to go through it. The great navigator had neither chart nor pilot to guide him; but fortunately no sunken rock obstructed his way, and the current of fresh water prevailing over the incoming waves carried him safely through.*

Columbus now shaped his course to the westward, along the outer coast of *Paria*, which he still supposed to be an island; and he was borne still further unconsciously on the same course (whilst he lay to at night in order to avoid running on rocks and shoals) by the Gulf Stream which sets across the Caribbean Sea. It took some time for him, with all his experience, to realise the fact that this great body of fresh water, brought by the rivers to the ocean, could not be the outcome of mere islands, but must proceed from the *Terra Firma* which was the object of his search. On leaving the coast of *Paria*, the navigator saw to the

* The scene, well-deserving to be painted, might be described in the following lines:—

“ As rolls the river into ocean,
 In sable torrent wildly streaming;
 As the sea-tide's opposing motion,
 In azure column proudly gleaming,
 Beats back the current many a rood
 In curling foam and mingling flood;
 Through sparkling spray, in thundering clash,
 The lightnings of the waters flash
 In awful whiteness o'er the shore,
 That shines and shakes beneath the roar.”

The Giaour.

north-east, at some distance, in succession, the islands of *Tobago* and *Granada*, which form part of South America; but here we must for the present take leave of the great sea-king; * for the limits of this work merely include the continent of South America and the islands immediately belonging to it. As the minute study of American geography does not form part of the education of every one, it may be proper to remark that the geographical limits of South America are perfectly distinct from those of the various countries forming Central America, as well as from the islands of the Spanish Main.

The next Spanish navigator who appeared in these seas was the celebrated Alonzo de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, being then but twenty-one years of age. Through the influence of a cousin of his own name, a Dominican friar, he had obtained from Bishop Fonseca a commission, authorising him to fit out an armament, and to proceed on a voyage of discovery, provided that he should not visit any territories belonging to Portugal, nor any lands discovered for Spain before 1495. It was stipulated that a certain proportion of his profits should be reserved for the Crown.

With this license in his pocket, Ojeda had now to find the means of turning it to account. He had a high reputation for courage and conduct; but he was destitute of wealth. This element, however, was supplied by some merchants of Seville, who had so much faith in him that they believed he would soon find the means of enriching them as well as himself. With their assistance he was soon enabled to equip a squadron of four vessels, with which he set sail from St. Mary's, near Cadiz. He had on board several seamen who had accompanied Columbus to *Paria*, for which coast Ojeda

* "Valiant sea-captains! Great sea-kings!
And thou, Columbus! my hero! greatest sea-king of all!"

Carlyle.

shaped his course. But the man on whom he chiefly relied was Juan de la Cosa, who had sailed with Columbus on his second voyage, and who was one of the ablest mariners of the day. Ojeda had likewise with him Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, then established at Seville, whose fame arose, not from any part which he took in this expedition, but from his published narratives and from his subsequent voyages to another part of the South American continent.

Ojeda and his companions, who sailed from St. Mary's on the 20th of May 1499, were guided by the charts which the admiral had sent home. Touching at the *Canaries*, they followed the route of Columbus, and at the end of twenty-four days reached the New World, about two hundred leagues further south than the point where the admiral had landed, being somewhat near *Surinam*. Thence Ojeda coasted northwards, passing the mouths of many rivers, more especially the *Orinoco*. The first natives they beheld were at *Trinidad*, the people of which are described in the letters of Vespucci.*

After touching at several points of *Trinidad* and of the Gulf of *Paria*, Ojeda passed through the *Boca del Drago*, and then steered his course to the westward along the coast of *Paria*, until he arrived at *Cumana* or the Gulf of Pearls. Thence he stood for the opposite island of *Margarita*, which had been discovered by Columbus. This island and others adjacent were now explored; after which Ojeda returned to the mainland. At *Maracapana* he careened his vessels and built a small brigantine. The natives were friendly, and brought him abundance of provisions, in return for which they besought Ojeda to assist them in an expedition against the inhabitants of an island, who were wont to carry off their people to be eaten.

Such a request was greatly to the mind of the enterprising Castilian, and after sailing for seven days, he

* *Viaggi de Amerigo Vespucci.*

arrived at what are supposed to be the *Caribbee* Islands, one of which was pointed out by his guides as the abode of their foes. His landing was at first stoutly opposed; but on hearing the sound of his guns, the savages fled in terror, whilst Ojeda and his men pursued them to the shore. The Carib warriors, however, rallied and courageously fought for a long time, but they were at length driven to the woods, leaving many killed and wounded. The fight was renewed on the succeeding day with the same result, after which the Spaniards set out on their return to the mainland, where Ojeda anchored for three weeks, to give his men time to recover from their wounds.

When his crew were again fit for the sea, Ojeda made sail and touched at the island of *Curacoa*. Entering a vast gulf, he beheld on the eastern side a village of strange construction. It consisted of a few large houses, shaped like bells, and built on piles driven into the bottom of the shallow lake. The houses were provided with drawbridges, and the communication was carried on by means of canoes. In this slight resemblance to the Queen of the Adriatic originated the name of *Venezuela*, or Little Venice. The native name was *Coquibacoa*. At sight of the ships the natives fled in terror, as did the rowers of a squadron of canoes which entered the harbour from the sea. They soon returned, however, bringing a peace-offering of sixteen young girls. The peace was of short duration; at a signal from some old women the Indians discharged a flight of arrows, and the girls plunged into the sea. But Ojeda was in no way taken aback. Manning his boats, he dashed amongst the canoes, sinking some of them, and killing and wounding a number of Indians, whilst the remainder took to flight.

Leaving this inhospitable spot, Ojeda proceeded to explore the gulf and reached the port of *Maracaibo*, where, in compliance with the entreaties of the natives, he sent

a party on shore to explore the country. The Spaniards on this occasion were treated with the utmost hospitality. Indeed the whole country poured forth its population to do them homage, looking upon them and treating them as beings of a superior race or world. The Spaniards were permitted to take away with them several of the beautiful females of the country, one of whom accompanied Ojeda in a subsequent voyage.

Ojeda, in his report of this voyage, stated that he met with English voyagers near *Venezuela*, or *Coquibacoa*. Of the expedition here alluded to, no other record has yet been brought to light. The North-American continent had ere this time been visited in 1497, by John Cabot, a Venetian, in the service of Henry VII, together with his son, the celebrated Sebastian Cabot, of whom more will be said hereafter. These navigators discovered the coast of *Newfoundland* on the 24th of June of the above-mentioned year, and coasted southwards as far as to *Florida*. The Cabots were thus the first discoverers of the mainland of America, having preceded Columbus by one year.

Ojeda continued his route along the western shores of the Gulf of *Venezuela*, doubling Cape *Maracaibo* and following the coast until he reached the headland of Cape *de la Vela*, whence he stood across the Caribbean Sea for *Hispaniola*. He reached Cadiz on his return in June 1500.

1499. Contemporary with this voyage of Ojeda was a similar one by Pedro Alonzo Niño, undertaken, not with the object of discovery, but for gain. This mariner sailed from Palos, and, following the chart of Columbus, reached the coast of *Paria*, where he landed to cut dye-wood, and where he established friendly relations with the natives. He, too, passed through the *Boca del Drago*, and encountered the Carib pirates, by whom he was boldly assailed, but who fled at the discharge of his artillery. Niño and his companions then steered for the

island of *Margarita*, where they obtained a large quantity of pearls. They afterwards skirted the coast of *Cumana*, and were invariably well treated by the natives; and they inferred that this was a part of the mainland from the fact of their meeting with deer and rabbits, these animals not having been seen by them on any of the islands. Niño next proceeded to a country called *Cauchieto*, where, however, the inhabitants, who had been visited by Ojeda, prepared to resist his landing. Not wishing to provoke hostilities, Niño returned to *Cumana*; whence, when he had amassed a sufficient number of pearls, he set sail for Spain, where he arrived in April 1500.

1500.

The next Spanish navigator who furthered geographical discovery in this quarter of South America was Rodrigo de Bastides of Seville, who set out with two *caravels* in October 1500, having with him the veteran pilot Juan de la Cosa, who had sailed with Columbus. Bastides had likewise on board Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, afterwards the celebrated discoverer of the Southern Sea.* This expedition extended the acquaintance with the coast of *Terra Firma* from Cape *de la Vela* to the spot afterwards named *Nombre de Dios*. Bastides has left a name for himself, as distinguished from the great mass of his countrymen who appeared in that part of the world, for his kind treatment of the natives. His vessels became, unfortunately, pierced by the worm which abounds in those waters, and it was with great difficulty that he contrived to reach *Hispaniola*.

Alonzo de Ojeda, in consideration of his past services, received a grant of land in *Hispaniola*, and likewise the government of *Coquibacoa*, which place he had discovered. He was authorized to fit out a number of ships at his own expense and to prosecute discoveries on the coast of *Terra Firma*. It is said that one of the chief reasons for granting this government, and the privileges which

* "Voyages of the Companions of Columbus;" by Washington Irving.

accompanied it, to Ojeda, was the fact of his having met with an English expedition near *Coquibacoa*. The Spanish sovereigns were alarmed at the idea of foreign intrusion, and they wished to confide the most advanced post in their dominions to a governor of the resolute valour of which Ojeda had given such abundant proof. He was instructed to set up the arms of Castile and Leon in every place he should visit, as a hint to the intrusive English that these places had already been taken possession of.

1502. With four vessels, Ojeda set sail for the *Canaries*, in 1502, and thence proceeded to the Gulf of *Paria*, from which locality he found his way to *Coquibacoa*. Not liking this poor country, he sailed on to the Bay of *Honda*, where he determined to found his settlement, which was, however, destined to be of short duration. Provisions very soon became scarce; and one of his partners, who had been sent to procure supplies from *Jamaica*, failed to return until Ojeda's followers were almost in a state of mutiny. The result was that the whole colony set sail for *Hispaniola*, taking the governor with them in chains. All that Ojeda gained by his expedition was that he at length came off the winner in a lawsuit, the costs of which, however, left him a ruined man.

We have now once more, in following according to time the progress of discovery towards the Isthmus, to return to the voyages of Columbus. He was already sixty-six years of age when he embarked on his fourth and last voyage. His squadron, consisting of four small *caravels*, set out from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1502, and, after some delay on the coast of Morocco, reached the *Caribbee* Islands on the 15th of June. Having been refused admission to enter the port of *San Domingo*, Columbus, after riding out a fearful storm, sailed for some time along the coast of *Honduras*, with the object, which was ever before him in this expedition, of finding a supposed strait opening out into the Indian

Ocean. On the 17th of October he arrived off the coast of *Veragua*, where he found the natives possessed of many ornaments of gold. The Spaniards likewise found in this quarter the first signs of solid architecture which they had discovered in the New World.

The great discoverer is honourably distinguished from others in that the advancement of science, rather than the acquisition of the precious metals, was the object of his quest. Although told by his interpreters, when sailing along the coast of *Veragua*, that in five towns which he passed he might obtain great quantities of gold, and although the natives placed so little value on objects of this mineral that they were always ready to exchange them for Spanish trifles, Columbus preferred to continue his course in order the sooner to arrive at the supposed strait. "I would not rob nor outrage the country," says the admiral in one of his letters, "since reason requires that it should be settled, and then the gold may be procured without violence." Columbus was an Italian; but it is safe to affirm that the sentiment expressed in the above sentence would not have been uttered by any one amongst the Spanish adventurers of the period.

On the 2nd of November Columbus reached the spacious harbour of *Porto Bello*, so named by its illustrious discoverer, and which was destined afterwards to hold so important a position as being the spot where the yearly fleet of *galleons* discharged its cargoes of European commodities for the supply of Spanish South America. The admiral found the neighbouring country open and cultivated, the houses surrounded by fruit-trees and groves of palms, and the fields producing maize, vegetables, and pine-apples. After a week's delay, Columbus proceeded eastward to the point afterwards known as *Nombre de Dios*. His vessels, however, now began to be pierced by the tropical worm. Landing, therefore, in a small harbour, to which he gave the name of *El Retrete*, he found himself in such inconveniently close vicinity to

the shore, that troubles soon arose between the natives and his unruly seamen; and these were not quelled without some display of force. It was at this point that the great navigator at length consented to relinquish his long and painful search after the supposed strait. Indeed, though he knew it not, the whole coast along the Isthmus had now been navigated by expeditions starting from opposite directions. In compliance with the wishes of his companions, the admiral now agreed to return to the coast of *Veragua*.

With the above object in view, the expedition sailed from *El Retrete* on the 5th of December, but it was only to encounter a continuance of the most stormy weather, in which the *caravels* were tossed about day and night, and subjected to the most serious risk of being swamped. On the 17th they entered a port resembling a canal, where they enjoyed some days' repose. On leaving this place of refuge they were again tossed about until the day after Christmas, when they entered another port, in which one of the vessels was repaired. On the day of Epiphany, to their great joy, they anchored in a river close to that of *Veragua*, to which Columbus, in honour of the day, gave the name of *Belen* or Bethlehem.

The accounts which the Spaniards had received were now confirmed by what they saw. In exchange for articles of the most trifling nature, they procured ornaments of gold of considerable value; and *Don Bartholomew*, the admiral's brother, set off in armed boats to ascend the *Veragua*, as far as to the residence of the *Cacique* Quibian. By him he was hospitably entertained, receiving from him the golden ornaments which he wore. But the ships and mariners were not long to rest in quietness, even under the shelter of a river; for a sudden swelling of the waters drove them from their anchors and tossed them helplessly against each other; whilst they were prevented by a violent storm from seeking safety at sea.

Early in February, *Don Bartholomew* again proceeded with an armed party to explore *Veragua*, and to seek for the mines. He was misled by the *cacique*, who directed him into the territories of a neighbouring chief, with whom he was at war. The *Adelantado*, however, on finding his mistake, set out on a second excursion, during the course of which he was continually met by proofs of abundance of gold, the natives generally wearing plates of that metal suspended from their necks. He was entertained in a friendly manner by the *caciques* whom he visited, and he found the country cultivated.

On hearing the report of his brother, Columbus resolved to set up a colony on this promising coast, with the object of securing possession of the country and of exploring the mines. The *Adelantado* was to remain with the greater part of the expedition, whilst the admiral should return to Spain. On this resolve being taken, no time was allowed to be lost. Eighty men were to be left behind, and these were forthwith employed in building houses and a magazine. The chief portion of the artillery and ammunition was stored on board of one of the *caravels*, which was to be left for the use of the colony. Although the stores were somewhat scarce, no apprehension was felt lest provisions should run short; for the country produced fruits and grain in abundance, whilst the rivers and sea-coast supplied large quantities of fish.

Such was the condition of affairs, and Columbus was on the point of departing, when an unlooked-for obstacle occurred to delay him. He could not of course anticipate the various changes of season in this strange country. The river, which had but recently been a source of danger to him from its becoming flooded, now suddenly became so dry that there was but half a fathom of water on its bar; and over this it was impossible even for the admiral's small vessel to pass. He had no remedy, therefore, but to have recourse to patience—that virtue

of which he stood so much in need throughout his memorable career—and to await the return of the rainy season.

Meanwhile the *Cacique* Quibian, as was but natural, looked with jealousy upon the proceedings of the strangers who were making themselves so much at home within his territories. Under pretext of preparing for war upon a neighbouring chief, he summoned his fighting men to assemble on the river *Veragua*. But suspicion was aroused in the mind of the admiral's notary, who obtained permission to reconnoitre the Indian camp. On his return, he gave it as his opinion that a large party of natives whom he had observed on the march had been on their way to surprise the Spanish settlement. Columbus, being unwilling to accept this view without further confirmation, gave permission to Mendez to proceed on a second scouting expedition, the result of which was such as to dispel his doubts; whilst any lingering disbelief was banished by information conveyed to him by a native who had acted as interpreter, and who revealed to the admiral the designs of his countrymen, which he had overheard. It had been the intention of Quibian to surprise the harbour at night; to burn the ships and houses; and to effect a general massacre.

In view of the above disclosures, Columbus set a double watch upon the harbour: but his brother, the *Adelantado*, resolved upon more vigorous measures. At the head of seventy-four men, together with the interpreter, he set off in boats for the *Veragua*, and landed below the house of Quibian, before the latter had notice of his movements. Then taking with him only five men, he ascended the hill, ordering the others to follow with great caution. On a given signal they were to surround the dwelling. The *cacique* was seized by *Don Bartholomew*, and, after a violent struggle, was bound hand and foot. His household, consisting of about fifty per-

sons, were likewise made prisoners; and so well were the *Adelantado's* measures taken that no blood was shed on the occasion.

Committing his prize to the care of his pilot, with orders to take him on board his boat, the *Adelantado*, with a portion of his men, set out in pursuit of the Indians who had escaped. But the wily *cacique* was more than a match for the honest pilot. On his complaining piteously of the pain caused by his bonds, the soft-hearted Sanchez was induced to loosen the cord; upon which Quibian, watching his opportunity, plunged into the water and disappeared. On the following morning the *Adelantado*, being convinced of the futility of pursuit, returned to the ships with the spoils of Quibian's mansion, which amounted to the insignificant value of three hundred ducats.

All was now apparently tranquil; and the rainy season having once more set in, Columbus took leave of his brother, and got under weigh with three of the *caravels*, leaving the fourth for the use of the settlement. The ships, having been towed over the bar, anchored within a league of the shore, to await a favourable wind. It was the intention of the admiral to touch at *Hispaniola*, and thence to send his brother supplies and reinforcements. As the adverse wind detained him for some time, he sent a boat on shore to procure wood and water. It was well for the colony that he did so. The *Cacique* Quibian had not perished, as was supposed, but had found his way ashore. When he saw the vessels bearing his family to afar, he was driven to despair, and thought only of vengeance. Assembling his warriors, he approached the settlement secretly, and fell upon the Spaniards when they were completely off their guard. After a severe struggle, the Indians were driven back, but not before they had killed one Spaniard and wounded eight others. Notwithstanding this warning, the boat's crew sent by Columbus proceeded up the river, and,

being surprised by the Indians, were cut off, one man alone escaping.

This misfortune filled the colony with dismay, more especially as the Indians forthwith renewed hostilities. As it was considered no longer safe to remain in the fortress, owing to its vicinity to the wood, the *Adelantado* erected a barricade in an open space by the sea. The Indians were deterred by the firearms of the Spaniards from venturing forth from the forest; but the latter looked forward with the utmost dread to the hour when the ammunition should be exhausted, and when they should be driven forth in search of food.

In the meanwhile Columbus was subjected to scarcely less anxiety. The non-return of his boat foreboded disaster; and he did not venture to risk his only remaining boat, on account of the heavy surf on the shore. An occurrence had also taken place which added not a little to the gloom on board of the squadron. It had been the intention of Columbus to carry Quibian's family to Spain, as hostages for the good behaviour of the Indians during his absence. The captives, however, were determined to secure their liberty, if possible. The hatchway above the forecastle where they slept had not been fastened, as it was out of reach of the prisoners, and as some of the crew slept upon it. This neglect being observed by the captives, despair lent them ingenuity. Collecting together a quantity of the ballast, they raised a heap beneath the hatchway. Several Indians mounting on the stones, by a simultaneous effort, then raised it, violently dislodging the sleeping seamen. The Indians instantly sprang forth, and many, plunging into the sea, swam ashore. Some, however, were caught and forced back into their place of imprisonment. In the morning it was found that all the prisoners had hanged themselves.

In this state of perplexity, one brave man volunteered to bring relief to the admiral's mind. Pedro Ledesma

of Seville offered, if the boat should take him to the edge of the surf, to swim ashore through it, a feat which he successfully accomplished. He returned to the ships, to tell his commander that the *Adclantado's* party were in all but open mutiny, and that they were sworn, if the admiral should refuse to take them on board, to depart in the *caravel* so soon as it might be practicable. Columbus, as may be supposed, was in no slight alarm for his brother, placed as he was between mutineers and savages. There appeared nothing to do but to take the whole party on board, and to return to the settlement at some future day; but the state of the weather was such as to render the execution of this plan not a little difficult. After nine boisterous days, however, the sea again became calm, and great exertion was made to get the people off ere the bad weather should return. In this emergency, the services of Diego Mendez were especially useful. Having lashed two Indian canoes together, he erected on them a raft, upon which the stores left on shore and on the *caravel* were towed out to the ships. In this manner, in the course of two nights and days, everything of value was conveyed on board the squadron, Mendez and five companions being the last to leave the shore. 1503.

The joy of the Spaniards was unbounded on finding themselves once more afloat. The wind becoming favourable, Columbus, towards the end of April 1503, set sail for the last time from the disastrous coast from which his descendant takes his title.* Instead, however, of making direct for *Hispaniola*, he, to the surprise of his pilot and crews, stood along the coast to the eastward.

This study of the currents had taught him that, in order to avoid being carried beyond his destined port, he must first gain considerable way to the east. At *Porto Bello* he was obliged to leave one of his *caravels*,

* Duke of Veragua.

it being so pierced by worms that it could no longer be kept afloat. Even his two remaining vessels, into which were now crowded the crews of the four, were in a very unseaworthy condition, and were only kept afloat by incessant labour at the pumps. Continuing onwards, they passed *Porto Retrete* and approached the entrance of the Gulf of *Darien*, when, yielding to the remonstrance of his captains and pilots, the admiral bade final farewell to the mainland; and on the 1st of May he stood northward in quest of *Hispaniola*. At this point of his career we must take leave of the discoverer of America. To pursue further the narrative of his last voyage would take us beyond the limits within which this work must be confined, that is to say, beyond the limits of South America.

NOTE.—The problem of rendering in English the names of places in foreign countries is one of some difficulty, and rests rather on conventionality than on principle. It is solved by different writers in different fashions. Greek purists have for some time past lost no opportunity, in writing Greek words, of substituting the original Greek K for the Roman C; but they still respect the latter in names of such places, familiarized to our ears by Scripture, as Corinth and Crete. In like manner Oriental purists, such as Sir Frederic Goldsmid and Colonel Malleon, have done their best to introduce into English literature a system of orthography as to Oriental names which is, of course, in place in the schoolroom of a professor of Oriental languages, but which has not yet made itself fully accepted by the general English reader. Those of us whose acquaintance with Indian history began with the reading of Macaulay's Essays on Clive and Hastings, are loth to accept *Pilasi* for Plassey and *Lakhnao* for the capital of the princely House of Oude.

To look nearer home, it would be pedantic to use *El Kahira* for Cairo, or *Dimishk* for Damascus. It would be little less so, although strictly correct, to use *Venezia* for Venice, *Roma* for Rome, or *Livorno* for Leghorn. We have added an *s*—why, I know not—to the French spelling of the word *Marseille*. That port is as familiar in our mouths as Liverpool or Glasgow, but we invariably write it and pronounce it *Marseilles*. In writing Spanish or Portuguese words applied to names of places in South America, I find a considerable divergence of custom amongst authors. To take the one name of *Assumption*, for instance. The capital of *Paraguay* is so written by the Robertsons

and other writers, whilst in Southey's History of Brazil it is throughout written *Assumption*. In Washburn's History of Paraguay it becomes *Asuncion*, the original Spanish name, which I see no reason to supersede. As a rule I have followed the native names of places in Portuguese or Spanish America, they being for the most part those by which they are known in England.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

1508-1514.

1508. ON the return of Columbus to Europe after his fourth and last voyage, King Ferdinand was roused by the accounts which he gave of *Veragua* into an ardent longing to possess that wealthy territory. He resolved, therefore, to found colonies upon that coast, and to place them under an able governor. But before he had proceeded to carry his resolution into practice, the great admiral was no more. In looking about for a capable commander, it might have been supposed that the king would have selected his brother, *Don Bartholomew*, who had accompanied him in his last voyage. Columbus had, however, left vast claims behind him, of which his family were the heirs, and which the mean and jealous monarch was unwilling to recognise. His choice of an officer, therefore, fell on the gallant and enterprising Alonzo de Ojeda, who at this period was idling his time in *Hispaniola*,—his purse being empty, but his spirit as high as ever. His generous character and reckless bearing had endeared to him the veteran pilot, Juan de la Cosa, who offered him the use of his savings for the purpose of fitting out his expedition.

Ojeda, however, had a rival in the person of Diego de Nicuesa. Both were accomplished cavaliers, well fitted by their spirit of enterprise to do what men could do in fulfilment of the unforeseen and almost superhuman tasks that lay before them. King Ferdinand, being unwilling

to lose the services of Nicuesa, appointed him, too, to a government; that is to say, he granted to each permission to conquer and govern a portion of the continent which lies along the Isthmus of *Darien*,—the boundary line to pass through the Gulf of *Urabá*. The eastern portion, extending to Cape *de la Vela*, was named New Andalusia, and was granted to Ojeda. The country to the west, including *Veragua*, and reaching to Cape *Gracias à Dios*, was assigned to Nicuesa. Both governors were to draw supplies in common from the island of *Jamaica*, and each was to enjoy for ten years the profits of the mines he might discover, with the usual deduction for the Crown.

Ojeda, by the aid of Juan de la Cosa, fitted out a ship and two brigantines, carrying between them about two hundred men. Nicuesa furnished four large vessels, carrying a much larger force. Ojeda, being somewhat jealous of the superior show of his rival, persuaded one of his friends, a lawyer called the Bachelor Enciso, to invest his money—two thousand *castillanos*—in his enterprise.

He was to remain behind in *Hispaniola*, to enlist recruits and provide supplies. Before setting out, the two rival governors, as was perhaps to be expected, fell into a dispute concerning the island of *Jamaica*, which they were to hold in common; and Ojeda took the opportunity of challenging Nicuesa to meet him in single combat. The feud, however, was smothered by the judicious interference of Juan de la Cosa. Nicuesa's engaging manners brought so many volunteers to his standard that he had to purchase another ship in order to convey them. He was not, however, a man of business, and was so over-reached in making his arrangements that he had considerable difficulty in escaping from his creditors and setting out for the scene of his government.

Never were a set of gallant adventurers exposed to more dire disaster and more grievous suffering and disappointment than were those who composed the armaments of Ojeda and Nicuesa, respectively. On the 10th of 1509.

November 1509, the former set sail from *San Domingo*, having added to his squadron another ship and another hundred men. Amongst the adventurers on board was one who was destined to fill a larger space in history than was Ojeda himself,—namely, Francisco Pizarro, the future conqueror of *Peru*. The expedition soon arrived in the harbour of *Carthagena*; but the natives, who had been irritated by the proceedings of previous European visitors, flew to arms at the first sight of the strangers. They were a war-like race, of *Carib* origin, and were given to the use of poisoned arrows.

The pilot, Juan de la Cosa, who had previously visited this coast with Bastides, was much alarmed at the aspect of affairs, and earnestly besought Ojeda to quit this neighbourhood and to found his settlement on the Gulf of *Urabá* where the people were less savage, more especially in respect to the use of poisoned arrows. Ojeda, however, whose daring was excessive, had no objection to fighting, the rather as it would, he hoped, give him an early opportunity of sending a ship full of slaves to *San Domingo*, wherewith to pay his debts. Ojeda, who had escaped from innumerable dangers, and imagined himself to be under the especial protection of the Virgin, boldly charged the Indians, on their declining to make peace. They were soon routed; a number being killed, and others taken prisoners. The dashing leader had the temerity to pursue the enemy far into the forest, where they were driven from their stronghold. Seventy Indians were then made captives and were sent to the ships.

The infatuated Ojeda, not content with these successes, continued his pursuit of the fugitives; but in the dusk of the evening, his men, imagining that the Indians were dispersed and subdued, separated in search of plunder amongst the houses of a deserted village. Of a sudden the savages rushed forth from the surrounding forest. The Spaniards, rallying in small parties, although they fought bravely, fell fast beneath the clubs and poisoned

arrows of the numbers that surrounded them. Ojeda, throwing himself upon his knees, and sheltering himself with his buckler, escaped the poisoned shower; but he was only saved by the arrival of *La Cosa* with a few followers, for all those with him had been slain. A like fate now befell the companions of the veteran pilot; whilst *La Cosa* himself was wounded, and unable to follow his leader when he sprang like a tiger on the enemy, dealing death to the right and left. *La Cosa* took refuge in an Indian cabin until but one man with him was left alive. With his dying breath he despatched this last companion with a message to Ojeda. This Spaniard and his commander alone survived of seventy men whom the headstrong Ojeda had led on this rash and uncalled-for expedition.

Alarmed at the prolonged absence of their leader and his men, the Spaniards on board the ships sent armed detachments in boats along the shore, who sounded trumpets and fired signal-guns. They were answered only by the defiant war-whoops of the Indians; but at length, in a tangled thicket of mangroves, the figure of a human being was descried in Spanish attire. It was Alonzo de Ojeda, so wasted with fatigue and hunger that he was for some time incapable of speaking. When they had given him food and wine, he was enabled to recount the wreck his rashness had wrought. His shield bore the marks of three hundred arrows, and he ascribed his safety to the protection of the Virgin alone.

While his friends were still on shore, they beheld some ships standing towards the harbour. It was the squadron of Nicuesa, on whose arrival Ojeda now looked with alarm. He had nothing, however, to dread from the generous cavalier, whose first act was to put himself and his men under the orders of Ojeda, with the object of avenging the deaths of his comrades. This was soon effectually done. Proceeding to the spot where the massacre had occurred, they found the Indian village

buried in sleep. It was forthwith wrapt in flames; and the inhabitants, who rushed forth, were either slain by the Spaniards or driven back to perish in the fire. No quarter was shown to sex or age. The spoil in the village was great, for the share of Nicuesa and his men was valued at seven thousands *castillanos*. Nicuesa now pursued his voyage to *Veragua*.

Ojeda, who had by this time had enough of *Carthagena*, embarking, steered for the Gulf of *Urabá*. His people were much disheartened, and the aspect of the coast along which they passed was not such as to console them. They heard the roars of tigers and lions, and were disconcerted when one of their horses, passing along the bank of a river, was seized by an alligator and dragged under the water. Ojeda fixed his settlement on a spot to which he gave the name of *San Sebastian*, trusting that the martyr, who had himself been slain by arrows, would protect his Spaniards from a like fate. Here he erected a wooden fort and drew a stockade around the place. He further sent a ship to *San Domingo* bearing a letter to his associate Enciso, in which he urged him to join him without delay.

Meanwhile Ojeda determined to make a progress through his territory, and he set out with an armed band to visit a neighbouring *cacique*. On entering the forest, however, he and his followers were assailed by a shower of poisoned arrows from the covert, in consequence of which a number of his men died raving with torments. The rest retreated in confusion, and it was only when their provisions began to run short that Ojeda could persuade them once more to take the field. They were so beset, however, on all sides by the savages, and lost so many by their poisoned wounds, that the Spaniards would no longer venture forth at all, contenting themselves for food with such herbs and roots as they could find. Their numbers became so thinned by disease that it was with difficulty that sentinels could be procured to mount guard.

Through all this Ojeda continued to bear a charmed life; and the Indians determined to test his invulnerability. When they next attacked the fort, and Ojeda as usual sallied forth to repel them, four of their picked marksmen were placed in ambush with orders to single him out. Three of the arrows struck his shield, doing him no injury; the fourth pierced his thigh. He was borne back to the settlement suffering great torments. He had the hardihood to order his doctor to apply two plates of iron, made red hot, to the orifices of his wound, an ordeal which he endured without flinching. Whether or not it was owing to this terrible treatment, his life was preserved, though at the cost of a fearful inflammation.

Whilst the colony was enduring the straits above described, a strange ship was seen making for *San Sebastian*. It did not, however, as was expected, bring Enciso with the looked-for stores. It was a vessel that had belonged to a Genoese, of which a certain Talavera, with some other reckless debtors, had taken possession at *San Domingo*, and who, to the number of seventy, now came to swell the ranks of Ojeda's followers. They sold their provisions to that governor, whose men were thus rescued from starvation.

Still was the arrival of Enciso delayed, and at length Ojeda was forced to come to a compromise with his desperate followers. It was agreed between them that he himself should proceed in one of the vessels to *San Domingo*, in quest of supplies and reinforcements, and that they—that is to say, the bulk of the colonists—should remain for fifty days at *San Sebastian*, at the end of which time, should he not have returned, they were to be free to depart in the other brigantines to *Hispaniola*. Meanwhile Francisco Pizarro was to command the colony in his absence, or until the arrival of Enciso.

Ojeda embarked in the ship that had brought Tala-

vera ; but when he attempted to take the command, he was resisted by that individual backed by his entire crew. The result was that the fiery Ojeda was thrown into irons, from which he was only released because no other person on board was capable of managing the ship. As it was, the pirates had allowed the vessel to be carried so far out of her course for *San Domingo* that Ojeda had no other resource but to run it ashore on the southern coast of *Cuba*.

When on shore the truce was continued between Ojeda and his late associates ; for they felt that none of the party but he could guide them in their forlorn plight. They were too disheartened to force their way through the inhabited country, where they would have to fight the irritated natives ; and therefore Ojeda, who had only before him a choice of evils, led them through the savannas and marshes, whence, with incredible labour, they at length emerged on an Indian village. Their sufferings had been intense and incessant, and out of the number of seventy who had set out, but one-half survived. With these Ojeda continued his march to Cape *de la Cruz*, whence, by means of a canoe, he was able to communicate with the Spaniards on the island of *Jamaica*. A *caravel* was sent to bring the party to the latter island, and from there, after a short delay, Ojeda set sail for *San Domingo*, leaving Talavera and his friends behind him. These were, however, soon afterwards arrested, and tried for their act of piracy, Talavera and several of his accomplices being hanged. At *San Domingo* nothing was known respecting the Bachelor Enciso, who had long since set out to join his chief, and who had not afterwards been heard of. Thus was the last hope of Ojeda gone. He was reduced to beggary, and his gallant spirit was at length so crushed by misfortune, that with his last breath he asked that he might be buried at the gate of the monastery of *San Francisco*, so that, in

expiation of his former pride, every one who should enter might tread upon his grave.

To return to Nicuesa:—On leaving *Carthagena*, he continued his voyage to the coast assigned to him as a government. The squadron arrived in due course at *Veragua*, but during a storm the vessel of Nicuesa became separated from her companions. Being stranded in a river, and his ship being in danger of falling to pieces, Nicuesa and his companions had to save themselves by passing to the shore by means of a rope. No sooner had they reached it than the *caravel* broke up, their provisions and clothing being carried off by the waters. Fortunately their boat was cast ashore, and in it four seamen put to sea, keeping abreast of the main body, which had to find its way along the shore, and ferrying them across the rivers and bays in their way. The sufferings of Nicuesa and his men were extreme, and their food consisted only of such herbs and roots and shellfish as they could gather. They were, however, proceeding in a wrong direction. The boat's crew were convinced of this fact, though they despaired of being able to convince Nicuesa; and so one night they took the law into their own hands and departed in the boat, leaving their commander and his party on an island. As they had anticipated, they ere long fell in with the other vessels, who had taken refuge in the river of *Belen*, and a boat was forthwith sent to rescue the forlorn party.

Nicuesa and his famished companions now rejoined his people at *Belen*, where, of the gallant band of seven hundred men who had sailed with him from *San Domingo*, he now found but three hundred half-starved survivors. His first care was to take measures for their relief; but, as will be remembered from the experience of Columbus and his brother, the Indians of this coast were by no means pleasant to deal with. Many of the Spanish foragers were slain, and those who escaped this fate were

so enfeebled that it was with the utmost difficulty they could carry their provisions home.

Disheartened by so many miseries, Nicuesa determined to abandon this disastrous settlement. Amongst his followers was a Genoese sailor who had been on this coast with Columbus, and who now described to his commander the harbour with which the admiral had been so pleased as to give it the name of *Porto Bello*. For this spot, under the guidance of the Genoese, Nicuesa steered, and he found the traces of the admiral's visit as had been described to him. A part of the crew were sent on shore for provisions, but they were assailed by the Indians, whom they were too worn-out to resist. Disappointed in the hope of finding a refuge in this place, Nicuesa continued his course for seven leagues further, and reached the harbour to which Columbus had given the name of *Puerto de Bastimentos*, or Port of Provisions. It was surrounded by a fruitful country, and the weary Nicuesa exclaimed, "Here let us rest, in the name of God!" His followers, interpreting his words as a favourable omen, the harbour received the name of *Nombre de Dios*, which it retains at the present day. The misfortunes of Nicuesa and his band were, however, not yet at an end. On mustering his forces, he found but one hundred emaciated beings left. He then despatched his *caravel* to *Hispaniola* for provisions; but it never returned, and he was equally unsuccessful in his search for supplies upon the spot.

1510. Meanwhile, as has been already said, long before Ojeda's return to *San Domingo*, his partner, the Bachelor Enciso, set out to rejoin his chief at *Carthagena*. The Bachelor arrived at this fatal spot in ignorance of the conflict in which Juan de la Cosa had met his death, and of that in which he was avenged. He therefore, without hesitation, landed a number of men to repair his boat. A multitude of Indians gathered around them. Their experience of the force of the white men had been so recent

as to make it prudent for them to keep at a safe distance. On being convinced, however, that these strangers came with no hostile intent, the natives threw down their weapons, and treated the Spaniards with the utmost friendship, supplying them with bread, fish, and other provisions.

At *Carthagena* Enciso was not a little surprised by the arrival of a brigantine. It was commanded by Francisco Pizarro, who, it will be remembered, had been left in charge on Ojeda's departure from *San Sebastian*. The small brigantine contained all that was left of the colony that had been founded with such high hopes. On the departure of Ojeda, his followers had remained in the fortress during the term agreed upon of fifty days. As soon afterwards as their numbers became so far reduced by death as to be capable of being contained in the two brigantines, they set sail from the fatal spot. Encountering rough weather, one of the brigantines went down with all hands; the other, as has been said, was steered for *Carthagena*, in order to procure provisions.

Nothing daunted by the experience of his predecessors, and taking with him Pizarro and his crew, though sorely against the will of the latter, Enciso set out for *San Sebastian*. From the very moment, however, of his arrival there, ill-luck attended the unfortunate Bachelor. On entering the harbour his vessel struck on a rock, and he and his crew escaped with difficulty to the brigantine of Pizarro, their vessel going down, together with the whole of the live-stock and supplies destined for the colony. On landing, he found that the fortress and houses had been burnt by the Indians. The Spaniards remained for a few days, subsisting on such supplies as the colony afforded. But they had a conflict with the Indians, which revived their fears of poisoned arrows and thoroughly disgusted them with the locality,—a feeling shared by Enciso. At this gloomy moment, one man stepped forward from the crowd, who from this time till his

premature death, stood in the foremost ranks of his countrymen in the New World, and who occupies a place amongst American discoverers second only to Columbus. This was the gallant and famous Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, destined to be the first European who should set eyes on the Pacific Ocean. Vasco Nuñez was a native of Xeres, and was the scion of a noble family. Being a man of prodigal habits, in order to evade his creditors, he had been conveyed on board Enciso's ship, concealed in a cask. He now informed his leader that, several years previously, he had sailed along that coast with Bastides and had explored the gulf of *Urabá*. He remembered an Indian village on the banks of the river *Darien*, situated in a fertile country, which was said to possess gold-mines. Above all, the natives did not use poisoned arrows. Thither he now offered to conduct his chief.

The offer of Nuñez being accepted, Enciso sailed for the spot. On landing, he was opposed by the *cacique*, who, however, was soon put to flight, leaving much plunder and food behind him. Here Enciso determined to establish his colony, to which he gave the name of *Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien*. No sooner was his colony established, than Enciso, somewhat prematurely, began to make his authority felt. His first edict forbade all private dealings with the natives for gold, on pain of death,—a proceeding little to the taste of the loose band which he had gathered around him. The result was that some of his followers determined to have recourse to the law on their own behalf. The boundary line between the jurisdictions which had been assigned to Ojeda and Nicuesa respectively was drawn through the centre of the Gulf of *Urabá*. As the village of *Darien* lay on the western side, it was clearly within the government of Nicuesa, and therefore Enciso, the lieutenant of Ojeda, possessed no jurisdiction there. In this manner the unfortunate Bachelor found himself reduced to the ranks.

It is proverbially more easy to pull down a government than to set one up, and such proved to be the case on this occasion. Vasco Nuñez and one Zamudio were appointed *alcaldes* by popular election; but it was deemed better to appoint a governor, if they could only agree upon one. Whilst the question was being disputed, the colony was surprised by the arrival of a vessel under the command of Rodrigo de Colmenares, bringing supplies for Nicuesa. This incident determined the colonists' choice in favour of the latter cavalier, if only he could be found. Colmenares accordingly proceeded along the coast in search of him. Looking into every bay and harbour, he at length discovered a brigantine which had been sent out by Nicuesa in search of provisions. By this vessel he was guided to *Nombre de Dios*, where Nicuesa was discovered, no longer indeed the brilliant cavalier, but a squalid and cast-down wretch. Of his once numerous band of followers but sixty feeble, emaciated men remained.

The arrival of Colmenares with a supply of food had an immediate reviving effect; and, in particular, Nicuesa, on hearing that he was requested to come and rule over the settlement of *Darien*, became changed as if struck by an enchanter's wand. But Nicuesa, whose misfortunes had failed to teach him prudence, now split upon the rock on which the fortunes of Enciso had been wrecked. When he heard that large quantities of gold had been retained by private individuals, he rashly gave out that he would make them refund it. This word was sufficient for the envoys who had been sent by the colonists to request him to come and rule over them. The result was that when Nicuesa arrived at *Darien*—he having delayed on the way on a slave-capturing expedition,—instead of the welcome which he had every reason to anticipate, he was received with the request that he would lose no time in retracing his way to *Nombre de Dios*.

Nicuesa had to pass the night in his vessel, and when

next day he was permitted to land, the only friend he found on his side was Vasco Nuñez, who, being himself a well-born cavalier, was touched by the misfortunes of the other. The only terms, however, which Nicuesa could obtain were, that he should be permitted to depart in an old brigantine, the worst in the harbour. Seventeen persons followed the unfortunate gentleman on board. Their vessel set sail on the 1st of March 1511, and was steered for *Hispaniola*. Nothing more was ever heard of Nicuesa and his companions, whose fate added another to the countless secrets of the deep.

We have now to trace the daring adventures of one of the two men who rose to deathless renown on the ruins of the disastrous expeditions whose general fate has been recently narrated. Since the two rival governors, Ojeda and Nicuesa, had started from *San Domingo* in 1509, full of hope, and exulting in power, nearly all their gallant followers had perished by the poisoned arrows of the Indians, by shipwreck, or by the slower process of disease or starvation. The two leaders, after undergoing protracted trials and sufferings of every description, had sunk into the grave, by land or by water, in misery; but two humble followers survived, who were each destined to climb to the highest round of the ladder of fame. These were Vasco Nuñez de Balboa and Francisco Pizarro. We are concerned in the first instance with the doings of the former.

No sooner had Nicuesa quitted for ever the coast of *Darien* than the community fell back into its former condition of being in want of a ruler. The Bachelor Enciso again advanced his claims, but he found in Vasco Nuñez a powerful and popular rival, and one who had every quality likely to give him influence over a fickle populace. Nuñez had likewise the advantage of his position as *alcalde*. Proceeding according to the forms of law, he summoned the Bachelor to stand his trial on the charge of having usurped the powers of *alcalde mayor*

beyond the territories under the jurisdiction of Ojeda. The charge being, in point of fact, true, although without any direct evil intention on Enciso's part, that lawyer was found guilty and thrown into prison. He was, however, after a time released, and he obtained permission to return to Spain. Foreseeing that he would not be silent in respect to the treatment he had received, Vasco Nuñez prevailed upon the other *alcalde*, Zamudio, to proceed to Spain in the same vessel, so that he might be at hand to answer any charge which Enciso might advance. He was likewise to put forward the services which had been rendered to the colony by Vasco Nuñez. In the same vessel sailed his friend the *Regidor* Valdivia, who was to alight at *Hispaniola*, and who was charged with a handsome present to the royal treasurer Pasamonte, after delivering which he was to return with provisions and recruits.

Vasco Nuñez was now left in sole control at *Darien*, and he forthwith set about the duties of his government with the remarkable energy peculiar to his character. He despatched two brigantines to bring away the followers of Nicuesa who had remained at *Nombre de Dios*, and who were now overjoyed at being rescued from their miserable position. On returning to the Isthmus, the brigantines met with two Spaniards who had fled from Nicuesa's vessel some time before, and had taken refuge with a *cacique* called Careta, who had treated them with remarkable kindness. Being Spanish adventurers, their first proceeding on rejoining their countrymen was, as a matter of course, to betray him. Vasco Nuñez, taking with him a hundred and thirty men, set out for the residence of the *cacique*, and was received and entertained with the usual Indian hospitable welcome. On his demanding a supply of provisions for the colony, however, the *cacique*, who naturally did not feel bound to provide, *gratis*, for a whole band of hungry invaders, excused himself on some plea which may not have been

exactly true. The Spaniard appeared to acquiesce, and departed with all his men as if for his settlement. Returning, however, in the dead of night, he surrounded the dwelling of Careta, and made prisoners of the *cacique*, his wives and children. Having helped himself to his store of provisions, he then returned in his brigantines to *Darien*.

The above infamous proceeding had a better ending than might have been anticipated. The broken-hearted Careta, bewailing his hard lot to Nuñez, actually so far succeeded in convincing him of the impolicy, if not the infamy of his conduct, that he agreed to set him free, the latter undertaking to be his ally, and leaving his daughter to be the wife of Nuñez. The Spanish leader next repaired to *Coyba* to assist Careta against a neighbouring chief called Ponca, whom he obliged to take refuge in the mountains. Whilst on a friendly visit to the *cacique* of *Comagre*, Nuñez heard from the son of that chieftain of a region beyond the mountains, on the shores of a mighty sea, which might be discerned from their summits, where gold was as plentiful as was iron with the Spaniards. In reply to his anxious inquiries, Vasco Nuñez learned that the task of penetrating to this sea, and to the golden region by its shores, was difficult and dangerous. It would require, said the son of Comagre, at least a thousand armed men. There was in the way a great *cacique* called Tubanamá, whose territories abounded in gold, but who would oppose their passage with a mighty force. Such was the first intimation received by Vasco Nuñez of the existence of the Pacific Ocean.

On his return to *Darien*, the whole soul of the Spaniard became absorbed in the idea of prosecuting the discovery of the sea beyond the mountains. The brigantine which had returned with Valdivia from *Hispaniola*, was again despatched to that colony, bearing a letter to *Don Diego Columbus*, in which Vasco Nuñez

informed him of the intelligence which he had received, and in which he entreated him to use his influence with the king, in order that the necessary thousand men might be obtained. Nuñez at the same time transmitted fifteen thousand crowns in gold, to be remitted as the royal fifths of what he had collected.

About this time the settlement of *Darien* was threatened with destruction, in consequence of a conspiracy on the part of certain Indian *caciques*, and which was only frustrated owing to the devotion to Vasco Nuñez of an Indian girl whom he had captured, and to whom her brother had revealed the plot. Being forewarned of the hostile intentions of the conspirators, Nuñez promptly took steps to defeat them, getting possession of the persons of the Indian general and several of his confederates. The general was shot, and the other leaders were hanged; whilst, as a further precaution, a wooden fort was erected at the settlement.

It was not merely with the natives that Nuñez had to contend; for the colony of *Darien*, not being as yet under any authority properly constituted by the crown, seems to have been more than usually fractious. Evil tidings, too, reached Nuñez from Spain. His late colleague, the *alcalde* Zamudio, wrote that the Bachelor Enciso had laid his complaints before the throne, and had succeeded in obtaining a sentence, condemning Vasco Nuñez in costs and damages. Nuñez was likewise to be summoned to Spain, to answer the charges against him on account of his treatment of Nicuesa.

The captain-general of *Darien*—for to such rank had Nuñez been advanced by a commission from the royal treasurer of *Hispaniola*—was at first stunned by this communication; but, being a brave man, he did not long remain cast down. His intelligent and energetic mind quickly conceived the idea of anticipating his summons to Spain by some gallant service which would convert his disgrace into triumph; and what service could be so

effective, with this object in view, as the discovery of the Southern Sea and the gold-laden realms by its shores! He had not, it is true, the thousand soldiers which the youthful *cacique* had said were needed for the enterprise; but, since time was pressing, and fame and fortune were at stake, he must make the best use of those he had.

Inspecting the band of adventurers by whom he was surrounded, Nuñez selected one hundred and ninety from the most resolute amongst their number. In addition to these well-armed men, he was aided in his enterprise by a detachment of Indian allies, as likewise by a number of blood-hounds. With this strangely-composed force, Vasco Nuñez set out from *Darien* on the 1st of September 1513, in a brigantine and nine canoes. Landing at *Coyba*, he was welcomed by Careta, and supplied by him with guides. Leaving nearly half his men at *Coyba* to guard his brigantine and canoes, he set out upon his march, having previously caused mass to be performed for the success of his expedition. His march, as might be expected, was troublesome; for the Spaniards were oppressed by the weight of their armour as well as by the tropical sun. In climbing the rocky mountains, however, and in struggling through the forests, they were relieved by the Indians from the burthen of their provisions, and were guided by them in finding the paths. From time to time they had to change their guides, sending back those who had previously accompanied them. They had likewise to make frequent halts, to recruit the health of some of their number after their fatigues.

Vasco Nuñez was possessed of an engaging manner which won the confidence of every one with whom he was brought into contact, and which had a peculiar fascination for the Indians. When Ponca, the enemy of Careta (whom the latter had driven into the mountains), was induced to come into his presence, he not only showed

him no ill-will, but freely imparted to him such information as he possessed regarding the countries whither Nuñez was bound. Pointing to a lofty mountain in the distance, he informed him that when he should have scaled its summit he should behold the sea spread out below him. Animated by this cheering intelligence, and furnished with fresh guides, Nuñez resumed his march; having first sent back to *Coyba* such of his men as he deemed too feeble for the enterprise.

So toilsome did the journey now become that it took Nuñez and his party four days to accomplish ten leagues—they suffering much, meanwhile, from hunger. They had now arrived in the territory of a *cacique* at war with Ponca, and who set upon the Spaniards with a numerous body of warriors, thinking, on account of their small number, that he was secure of a victory. On the first discharge of their firearms, however, he had reason to alter his opinion, his people being forced to hasty flight, leaving the *cacique* and six hundred men dead upon the field. The *cacique's* brother and other chiefs who were taken prisoners, were clad in white robes of cotton; which circumstance led to their being accused of crimes so revolting to the Spaniards, that they gave them to be torn to pieces by the blood-hounds. It is stated that amongst the prisoners taken on this occasion were several negro slaves. If this were so, their appearance in South America at this time has never been explained.

Vasco Nuñez, having distributed the spoil taken in the village of the late *cacique*, selected fresh guides from amongst his prisoners. His effective Spaniards now numbered only sixty-seven, and with these he started at the dawn of day on the 26th of September, to climb the last height that lay between him and the vision to which he looked forward. About ten o'clock the party emerged from the forest and stood on the open summit, which alone remained to be ascended. Vasco Nuñez, commanding his followers to halt, set out for the mountain

top, in order that he might be the first European to gaze on the longed-for sea. At sight of the glorious prospect his first impulse was to sink upon his knees and pour out his heart to Heaven. He then made his people ascend, in order that their eyes too might be gladdened, and that their hearts should rejoice. It was a solemn moment in the lives of all; and with the deep religious feeling with which these pioneers of discovery were animated, they joined in one general prayer to God that He would guide and aid them to conquer for their king the sea and lands before them, which till now their Holy Faith had never reached. His men, for their part, embracing Vasco Nuñez, promised to follow him till death. Amongst them there happened to be a priest, who now led the chaunt *Te Deum laudamus!* Their last act before leaving the spot was to witness an attestation that Nuñez took possession of the sea, its islands and surrounding lands, in the name of the sovereigns of Castile, in token of which a cross was erected and a pile of stones raised, the names of the Castilian sovereigns being carved on trees.

Having performed this important duty, Vasco Nuñez now descended into the regions that lay between the mountains and the Pacific. He was again encountered by a warlike *cacique*, who forbade him to set foot upon his territory. The result, however, of the first onset of the Spaniards was the same as had been the case with their last enemy. The Indians having taken to flight, Nuñez commanded his men to refrain from useless slaughter. The *cacique*, having been brought before him, presented five hundred pounds weight of gold as a peace-offering. A scouting party having found the sea at a distance of two days' journey, and Nuñez having been rejoined by his men whom he had left behind him, he now established the headquarters at the village of this *cacique*, while he himself proceeded with a small party to explore the coast. After traversing a region clothed

down to the water's edge by thick forests, Nuñez arrived on a bay to which, on account of the date, he gave the name of *St. Michael's*. When the receding tide had risen, he marched into the water, and waving his banner, formally took possession of these seas and coasts, and of all appertaining to them, in the name of the Castilian sovereigns. He likewise cut crosses on three trees, in honour of the Three Persons of the Trinity.

The Spaniards were now to encounter a new form of danger, of the nature of which, notwithstanding all their previous experience, they had never dreamt. Having been successful in obtaining a considerable quantity of gold whilst at his headquarters of *Chiapes*, Nuñez determined to explore the borders of a neighbouring gulf; nor was he deterred by the warnings of his host against the danger of venturing to sea in the stormy season then commencing. Vasco Nuñez, who looked upon himself as being an apostle of the faith, had a firm belief in the especial protection of God, and therefore despised the caution given. His Indian host, whose experience of the stormy gulf by no means led him to entertain a like confidence, was nevertheless too polite not to accompany the daring stranger, whose party of sixty men embarked in nine canoes on the 17th of October.

When the Spaniards were fairly launched, and when it would have seemed pusillanimous to retreat, the wisdom of the *cacique's* advice began to be perceived. The wind raised a heavy sea, which broke over the rocks and reefs with which the gulf abounded. Even the Indians, accustomed as they were to those seas, showed signs of alarm. They succeeded, however, in lashing the canoes together, two and two, and thus prevented them from upsetting, until, towards evening, they reached a small island. Here landing, they fastened the canoes to the shore, and sought a dry place where the party might repose. But they were soon awakened by the rapid rising of the water, upon which they had not counted;

and they at length found themselves almost to their waists in water. The wind, however, lulled, and the sea became calm, and after a time it began to subside. They found their canoes seriously damaged; whilst their clothing and food were washed away. There was nothing for it but to repair the canoes as best they could; after which they set out on their return to the shore. They had to labour all day long, enduring severe hunger and thirst; but at night they had the satisfaction of reaching the land.

Leaving a portion of his men with the canoes, Nuñez set out for the neighbouring Indian village, from which the inhabitants were driven before the firearms and dogs of the invaders. A quantity of provisions, besides pearls and gold, rewarded the brigands; and on the following day the *cacique*, who had been so violently driven into the woods, was induced to return to his home, the object of his despoiler in inviting him being a desire to ascertain the source whence he procured his pearls. Fear opened the heart of the poor Indian, who, in his awe of the superhuman strangers, as he thought them, gave Vasco Nuñez golden ornaments weighing six hundred and fourteen crowns, and two hundred pearls of great beauty; he further sent a number of his men to fish for pearls for the Spaniards.

The *cacique* informed Nuñez that the coast which he saw before him continued onwards without end, and that far to the south there was a country abounding in gold; its inhabitants, he said (alluding to the *Ulama*), made use of quadrupeds to carry burdens. Inspired by this intelligence, Nuñez determined to emerge from the gulf and to take possession of the mainland beyond. The *cacique* having furnished him with a canoe of state, he departed in it on the 29th of October, and was piloted by the Indians as far as to the point of the gulf, when he again marched into the sea and took possession of it. He saw before him a line of coast rising above the

horizon, which the Indians said abounded in pearls. To this island and the surrounding group he gave the name of the Pearl Islands. On the 3rd of November he set out to visit other parts of the coast. Entering a great river, which the party ascended with difficulty, Nuñez next morning surprised a village on its banks, and obtained from the *cacique*, as the price of his liberty, more gold and pearls, and a supply of provisions.

From this point Vasco Nuñez determined to set out on his return to *Darien*. After having been entertained during three days by the *cacique* whom he had robbed, he set out well furnished with provisions, which were carried by the subjects of the Indian chief. His route now lay over sterile mountains, and he and his men suffered much from the absence of water; for the burning heat had dried up all the mountain streams. The fevered Spaniards were, however, gently urged by the Indians to proceed, and were at length rewarded by arriving in a deep glen which contained a cool fountain. They were now in the territory of a chief called Poncra, who had the reputation of possessing great riches. At the approach of the Spanish bandits, Poncra and his people fled from their village, in which Nuñez and his men appropriated to themselves property to the value of three thousand crowns of gold. Poncra having been caught, was brought before Nuñez, together with three of his subjects; but neither threats nor torture could compel him to betray the locality of his treasures. Under these circumstances, the unfortunate wretch was accused by his enemies of certain practices of which he may or may not have been guilty. In any case Nuñez had no sort of authority to be his judge. He was enraged, however, at his obstinacy in refusing to reveal his treasures, and Poncra and his three companions were given to be torn to pieces by the blood-hounds. We shall soon have to ask the reader's sympathy for the fate of Vasco Nuñez himself; meanwhile, it may be well to bear in mind of

what atrocious conduct he could on occasion be guilty towards others.

The Spaniards halted during thirty days at the village of the ill-fated Poncra, during which time they were rejoined by their companions who had been left behind. And here it may be observed that it appears somewhat strange that the energetic Vasco Nuñez, over whose head a grave accusation at this time hung, and who had undertaken his expedition to the Pacific in order to anticipate its evil results, should have apparently wasted so much time at this spot, since it was everything to him that not an hour should be lost in making his magnificent discovery known in Spain.

On departing from the village of Poncra, the Spaniards were accompanied by one of the *caciques* of the mountain, who not only lodged and fed them, but further presented them with the value of two thousand crowns. The Spaniards, on leaving the district, bent their course for some time along the river *Comagre*. When they abandoned it, owing to the precipitous nature of its banks, they had to trust entirely to their Indian guides. Had these deserted them, they would have been lost in the thick forests and unseen morasses. In their journey they were the victims of their own avarice; for they had loaded most of the Indians with gold alone, and now found themselves destitute of provisions. Many of their Indian bearers, oppressed by their burdens, sank down to perish by the way.

The Spaniards had still to pass through the territories of the most warlike *cacique* of the mountains. His reputation was so considerable that Nuñez dreaded to attack him with his worn-out followers; he therefore had recourse to stratagem. Taking with him seventy of the strongest of his party, he made a forced march to the neighbourhood of the *cacique's* residence, which at midnight he suddenly assaulted, capturing Tubanamá and all his family. The *cacique*, being threatened with

death, agreed to purchase his life with jewels of gold to the value of three thousand crowns, and further to levy double that sum from his subjects; which having done, he was set at liberty.

Nuñez, returning to the village where he had left his men, now resumed his march to *Darien*. He and his party being much affected by the climate, could proceed but slowly; but they at length arrived on the sea coast in the territories of their ally Comagre. That *cacique* was now dead, and had been succeeded by his son, the youth who had first given information to Nuñez of the existence of the Southern Sea. Nuñez next proceeded to *Ponca*, where he heard of the arrival of a ship and *caravel* from *Hispaniola*. Hastening onwards to *Coyba*, the residence of his ally Careta, he embarked in the brigantine on January 28th, 1514, and arrived at *Darien* on the following day. He had been absent for five months, and was met with the most joyful welcome on the part of the entire colony. 1514.

CHAPTER III.

THE COLONY OF DARIEN; FATE OF VASCO NUÑEZ.

1514-1517.

ONCE more at *Darien*, Vasco Nuñez lost no time in drawing up for the king a report of his expedition across the mountains to the Southern Sea, in which report he states that during the expedition he had not lost a single man in battle. But, by a singular mischance, the vessel which bore his friend and messenger, Arbolanche, who had himself taken part in the toils and dangers which he was to describe, did not sail from *Darien* until the beginning of March. This delay ruined the rising fortunes of Vasco Nuñez.

The Bachelor Enciso, as has been already said, had carried his complaints against Nuñez to the foot of the throne; and when, in May 1513, he was followed by Caýzedo and Colmenares with their glowing account of the province of *Zenu*, with its mountain streams that flowed over golden sands, their news served but to hasten the appointment of a governor over this favoured region. The royal choice fell, on the recommendation of Fonseca the Bishop of Burgos, upon *Don Pedro Arias Davila*, commonly called *Pedrarias*, who, on July 27th of the same year, was appointed ruler over *Darien*. The new governor was an elderly gentleman of rank, who had been brought up in the royal household and had afterwards distinguished himself as a soldier; but he has been well called, as his subsequent actions proved him to be, "a suspicious, fiery, arbitrary old man."*

* *Helpa*.

The envoys of Nuñez had asked King Ferdinand for a thousand men, wherewith to enable their master to make the discovery of the Southern Sea. Ferdinand fully appreciated the importance of the enterprise; and, although he did not intend it for Nuñez, he assigned twelve hundred men to Pedrarias for its accomplishment. It so happened that at this time the Great Captain, the famous Gonsalvo de Córdoba, was preparing to return to Naples; and the chivalry of Spain were thronging to enlist under his banner. His armament was, however, countermanded when on the point of sailing; and thus a large number of young nobles and cavaliers, who had set their hearts on winning their spurs, had their plans suddenly thwarted. Pedrarias had a host of volunteers anxious to join his expedition to the country which had already received the appellation of *Castilla del Oro*, or Golden Castile. In order to enable him to comply with the wishes of these applicants, he was permitted to increase his force to the number of fifteen hundred men; but in the end some two thousand embarked. Pedrarias was likewise accompanied by a bishop and four principal officers, one of whom was the Bachelor Enciso, now appointed *alguazil mayor*. He was also accompanied by his wife *Doña* Isabella de Bobadilla. He received instructions not to admit any lawyers into his colony,—an instruction subsequently more than once repeated in respect to Spanish-American colonies.

Scarcely had his fleet of fifteen vessels set sail from *San Lucar*, on the 12th of April 1514, when Arbolanche arrived, bearing the news of the glorious exploits of Nuñez. Had he come but a few days earlier, how widely different would have been the future of that cavalier! King Ferdinand gazed with delight on the pearls and gold which the messenger of Nuñez laid before him, and his imagination was carried away by the tale of the unknown seas and wonderful realms which were about to be brought under his sway. The popularity of Nuñez

suddenly became unbounded, and the fame of his exploits resounded throughout Spain. The ill impression which had been produced on the king's mind by the reports of Enciso was forthwith obliterated, and the Bishop of Burgos was instructed to devise some means of rewarding his surpassing services. But meanwhile the cavalier himself was afar off, and the waves of the Atlantic were fast bearing to *Darien* the jealous old man who was to see in Nuñez only one who had robbed him of the glory which he had proposed to himself of being the first discoverer of the Southern Sea and the conqueror of the regions of gold and pearls on its shores.

Meanwhile Vasco Nuñez was governing the region subjected to his rule in such a manner as to prove that the popular selection which had elevated him to the position of chief was justified by his qualities as a peaceful ruler no less than by his exploits as a warlike adventurer. The settlement contained upwards of two hundred houses or huts, and the constant effort of the captain-general was to bring the neighbourhood into such a state of cultivation as to render *Darien* independent of Europe for supplies. Its population now amounted to about five hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred Indians. The climate being depressing, Nuñez, who was a born governor, took advantage of every means to keep his people in good spirits, devoting the holidays as they came round to national sports and games, including tilting matches. He was singularly successful in securing the friendship, as well as in gaining the respect, of the natives; so that the Spaniards could travel, even singly, all over the district in perfect safety. It was certainly a circumstance full of misfortune, as well for Spain as for the inhabitants of the Isthmus, that when, after the experience of so many unfortunate colonising expeditions and so many incapable leaders, one was at length found admirably suited alike for the requirements of peace and of war, he should have had so soon to give place to a man whose

age unfitted him to fulfil the duties of leader, and whose temper prevented him from recognising the merits of those who acted under him.

In June the fleet of Pedrarias arrived in the Gulf of ^{1514.} *Urabá*. The new governor, knowing the character and the renown of Nuñez, was somewhat apprehensive lest he should decline to render up peaceful possession of his government, and he accordingly thought it prudent to cast anchor about a league and a half from the shore, and to send a messenger in advance to announce his arrival. He need not, however, have felt any misgiving; for Nuñez forthwith sent back his messenger with congratulations on his safe arrival, and with the expression of his own readiness and that of all the colony to obey his orders. It is true that some fiery adherents of the popular leader expressed their desire to repel the intruder; but these were at once discountenanced by their chief. The new governor, disembarking on the last day of June, made his entrance into *Darien* at the head of two thousand armed men, he leading his wife by the one hand and having Bishop Quevedo on the other; whilst a train of youthful cavaliers formed his body-guard. Vasco Nuñez came forth unarmed to meet him, attended by a detachment of his scarred and veteran troops. He conducted his guests to his humble straw-thatched abode, where he laid before them such a repast as this embryo city of the forest might afford, the only beverage procurable being water. We may well believe that the courtly cavaliers who formed the governor's train were somewhat taken aback by the simple nature of their first entertainment in Golden Castile.

Pedrarias, on the day of his arrival, summoned Vasco Nuñez to his presence and held with him a long private conference, at which the historian Oviedo assisted. In accordance with the governor's request, Vasco Nuñez gave an account in writing, in the course of two days, of his administration during the past three years. He likewise

described the rivers and mountains where he had found gold, the *caciques* who were his allies, and his journey to the Southern Sea and to the Isle of Pearls. Having thus obtained the information which he required, and which Nuñez alone could furnish, Pedrarias next proceeded to take the *residencia* of the late captain-general, that is to say, he instituted an inquiry into his past conduct, the result being that for the injuries done to Enciso and others, Nuñez was condemned to pay a large amount, although he was acquitted of the criminal charges brought against him. The governor was now his declared enemy, and would have sent him in chains to Spain, to be tried for the death of Nicuesa, had he not been warned by the Bishop Quevedo, who was Nuñez' friend, that his arrival in Spain would be the signal of his triumph, and that the result would in all probability be his return to *Panamá* with increased power and position. Nuñez had likewise found an advocate in the wife of the governor, who could not but admire his character and exploits. Under these circumstances it was thought better to detain him at *Darien* under a cloud. His property, which had been sequestrated, was, however, restored to him.

Nuñez, in his letter to the king, had advised the creation of settlements in the territories of Comagre, Ponca, and Pocososa, with a view to establishing a line of posts across the mountains between *Darien* and the Southern Sea; and it was now determined to carry out this plan. Whilst preparations were being made with this view, the Spaniards who had accompanied Pedrarias began to suffer greatly from the effects of the climate, and were likewise sorely pressed by hunger. The colony had not been in any way prepared for such an accession to its numbers; nor were there any neighbouring friendly Indians on whom to fall back for a supply of provisions. Men brought up in luxury, and who were clad in fine raiment, were glad to procure herbs and roots, or were actually perishing from starvation. One of the principal *hidalgos*

dropped down dead in the street, starved. Within a month's time seven hundred men had perished, whilst Pedrarias himself was taken seriously ill. The provisions which had been brought out were now exhausted, and the horrors of famine stared the whole colony in the face. In this gloomy state of affairs Pedrarias was glad to give permission to a ship-load of starving adventurers to depart for *Cuba* and for Spain.

When the governor had recovered from his malady, he urged on the expeditions which he had planned; but he was careful not to permit Vasco Nuñez to acquire additional renown by taking part in them. That cavalier was still allowed to remain under the cloud of a judicial inquiry hanging over him. Notwithstanding the provision which had been made not to admit lawyers into the colony, the legal profession was at this time so flourishing at *Darien* that it was estimated that there were about forty lawsuits to each colonist.

Vasco Nuñez, oppressed by this inaction, determined to prosecute his plans on his own account, without reference to the governor; and he despatched one Garabito to *Cuba* to enlist men for an expedition across the mountains and to found a colony on the Southern Sea. Whilst Garabito was absent, Nuñez was condemned to behold his schemes ruined, owing alone to the incapacity and brutality of those entrusted by Pedrarias with the mission of carrying them out. Amongst the leaders employed by the governor was one Juan de Ayora, who was sent with four hundred men to build forts in the countries ruled over by Comagre, Pocososa, and Tubanamá respectively. This officer proved himself an exceptional ruffian even amongst the Spanish transatlantic adventurers of the day. According to Oviedo, who was at this time notary of the colony, he not only demanded of the chiefs and their subjects the authorised requisitions to avert war, but, pouncing upon the *caciques* and principal men by night, he put them to the torture in quest of

gold. Some he then caused to be put to death; others were given to be devoured by the dogs; whilst others again were reserved for new forms of torment. Their wives and daughters were taken from them, and were made slaves and concubines according to the good pleasure of this Ayora.

One of the first victims of this expedition was Comagre himself, the same youthful *cacique* who had given to Vasco Nuñez the earliest information of the existence of the sea beyond the mountains, and who had told him that a thousand men would be needed for its discovery. Little did he imagine that he himself would be one of the victims of the thousand men who had now been brought by his advice! The chiefs with whom Vasco Nuñez had cemented a friendship came forth in turn to lay their gold before Ayora. The valiant Tubanamá, being of a less submissive turn of mind, took to arms, but to no avail. Another *cacique*, having put his women and children in safety, laid wait in ambuscade and attacked the Spaniards, wounding Ayora himself.

The proceedings of Ayora towards another *cacique* are thus described by a lawyer sent on a mission of inquiry to the West Indies a few years later by Cardinal Ximenes. On the approach of the Spaniards, the *cacique* in question, under the belief that he was about to welcome his old friend Nuñez, had prepared for him the best entertainment within his means, including roast-meat, game, and wine. On his inquiring for the chief, Ayora was pointed out to him, but he replied that this was not Nuñez. He was, however, to become well acquainted with his present guest during their brief intercourse. After having partaken of his hospitality, Ayora sent for him and demanded gold. This not being forthcoming in sufficient quantity, the *cacique* was bound, upon which his vassals were desired by him to bring all the gold in their possession. The amount, however, did not satisfy the invader, who ordered the *cacique* to be burnt alive.*

* Navarrete.

Not being troubled as to the means he took to obtain it, it was but natural that this scoundrel should gather together a considerable quantity of gold; it is some satisfaction to the moral sense to know that neither Ayora nor any one else was any the better for it. The idea of delivering up his ill-gotten treasures was repugnant to the avarice of this robber, who secretly made off with them to sea and was never more heard of. The colony which he had founded at *Santa Cruz* met with no better fate. The garrison, having given much offence to the Indians, were beset at night by Pocosora and his people; a desperate struggle ensued, but when morning broke, only five Spaniards were left alive to carry the tale to *Darien*. It may here be mentioned that Hurtado, who had been sent by Pedrarias to discover the causes in the delay of the return of Ayora, brought back with him to *Darien* a hundred peaceful Indians, of whom he disposed as slaves. A number of these had been lent to him as carriers by the *cacique* Careta, the friend and ally of Nuñez.

In a letter addressed to Vasco Nuñez, King Ferdinand 1515. expressed his high sense of his merits and services, and constituted him *Adelantado* of the Southern Sea, and governor of the provinces of *Panamá* and *Coybá*. He was, however, to be subordinate to Pedrarias. A letter was likewise written at the same time to the latter, informing him of this arrangement, and requiring him to consult with Vasco Nuñez upon all affairs of importance. This communication was a severe blow to the vanity of the jealous old man; and upon its receipt, he summoned a council to deliberate as to what action should be taken. It was finally arranged that the above-mentioned titles and dignities should be nominally conferred upon Nuñez, but that for the meantime he was not to enter into possession of the territories assigned to him.

At this critical moment Carabito, the agent of Nuñez, happened to return from *Cuba* with a vessel freighted with arms and ammunition, and having seventy men on

board. He anchored at some distance from *Darien*, but sent word of his arrival to Nuñez, all of which became speedily known to Pedrarias. The suspicious mind of the latter taking the alarm, he at once ordered Nuñez to be seized and confined; but he was prevailed upon by the bishop to inquire into the matter calmly, the result being that, as nothing treasonable was proved against him, Nuñez was set at liberty.

The bishop next endeavoured to persuade Pedrarias to employ Vasco Nuñez on an expedition which he was about to despatch to the Southern Sea and to the Isle of Pearls. As, however, there was much credit and probably much wealth to be derived from it, Pedrarias preferred to give the command to his own kinsman, Morales, with whom he associated Francisco Pizarro, who had been in Nuñez' expedition to the same region. Gaspar Morales accordingly started with sixty men, and traversed the mountains by a shorter route than that which had previously been taken. He arrived at the territories of a *cacique* named Tutibrá, where he left one-half of his men under Peñalosa, whilst with the remainder he set out in canoes for the Pearl Islands. On arriving at the *Isla Rica*, so named by Nuñez, they experienced a warm reception from the *cacique*, who sallied forth four times against them, but who was as often repulsed with loss. His warriors were paralysed by the firearms and the blood-hounds, and the *cacique* was at length obliged to sue for peace. He presented to his guests as a peace-offering a basket filled with pearls, two of them being of remarkable size and beauty. Taking Morales and Pizarro to the summit of a wooden tower, he pointed proudly to a long vista of islands subject to his sway, and promised his new friends as many pearls as they might desire so long as they should continue to give him their friendship.

Turning towards the mainland, which stretched away mountain upon mountain as far as the eye could reach,

the communicative chief told his guests of a country of inexhaustible riches that lay in that direction. His words and suggestions were not lost upon one of the two men who listened to him. The *cacique* further agreed to become the vassal of the king of Castile, and to pay him an annual tribute of one hundred pounds weight of pearls. The party then returned to the mainland at another point than that at which they had embarked, when Morales sent a detachment of ten men to conduct Peñalosa and his party from the village of *Tutibrá*.

During the absence of the Spanish leaders at the islands, a conspiracy had been formed by a large number of the *caciques* along the coast to massacre the whole band of invaders. This measure was undoubtedly the result of grossly tyrannical conduct on the part of the Spaniards. By some writers the provocation is ascribed to Peñalosa: by others it is given to Morales himself, who is stated on one occasion to have come upon an Indian town or village in the midst of a festivity, when the men and women were seated apart, and to have taken advantage of the opportunity to capture the females. We shall not be far wrong if we assign both to Peñalosa and to Morales a full share of the enormities which brought about the conspiracy.

The party sent in quest of Peñalosa put up for the night in the village of one of the conspirators; but in the dead of night the house was wrapped in flames, and most of the strangers perished. There was at this time with the Spaniards under Morales a *cacique* named Chirucá, who, on learning of the above-mentioned massacre, instantly fled during the night. He was pursued and taken, and, on being put to the torture, confessed the whole conspiracy. Morales and Pizarro were appalled by the unsuspected danger into which they had fallen. They, however, compelled Chirucá to send a message to each of the *caciques* inviting him to a conference. The *caciques* fell into the snare, and eighteen of them were

put in chains. At the same time Peñaloza with his thirty men arrived from *Tutibrá*. Being thus in strength, the Spaniards lost no time in attacking the unsuspecting Indians, of whom seven hundred were slain. The eighteen captive *caciques*, and likewise Chirucá, were given to the blood-hounds.

After the above-mentioned occurrence, Morales attacked by night a warlike *cacique* named Biru, setting fire to his town. The chief, who at first fled, soon turned upon his pursuers and fought for the entire day, which ended not much to the advantage of the Spaniards. In his retreat, Morales was harassed by the people of the twenty *caciques* whom he had caused to be slaughtered. Being much pressed, he had recourse to the expedient of stabbing his Indian captives at intervals as he went along, hoping thus to occupy and delay his pursuers. In this manner, says Oviedo, perished ninety or a hundred persons. Vasco Nuñez could not be called an over-scrupulous commander; but though in circumstances of difficulty he had to provide for the safety and wants of his men as best he could, he was by nature neither cruel nor treacherous. It would be an outrage to name him together with such men as Ayora and Morales, of which latter's proceeding, just mentioned, he writes to the king that a more cruel deed had never been heard of.

For nine days the Spaniards were hunted about the woods and mountains, at the end of which time they found themselves at the point from which they had set out. It was all their commanders could do to prevent them from yielding to despair. Entering a thick forest, they were again assailed by Indians, with whom they now fought like wild beasts. They at length owed their safety to the fact of their surprising some canoes, in which they traversed the Gulf of *St. Michael*, landing at a less hostile locality, from which they again set out to cross the mountains. After incredible sufferings they returned to *Darien*, with the satisfaction of having

brought with them their precious pearls from *Isla Rica*, one of which was afterwards presented to the Empress of Charles V.

Another expedition sent out by Pedrarias was still more unfortunate than that above referred to. It was commanded by Becerra, and consisted of one hundred and eighty men. Of this force the sole survivor was an Indian youth, who returned to *Darien* almost famished with hunger. His leader, he said, had entered by unknown ways the province of *Cenú*, where the Indians were fully prepared to receive him. His men were wounded by poisoned arrows; the paths were blocked by felled timber; and finally, when Becerra's men, under the guidance of Indians, were crossing a great river, the latter contrived to destroy them all.

About this time the historian Oviedo became so disgusted with the intolerable conduct of his countrymen in the Isthmus of *Darien*, that he resolved to return to Spain for the purpose of giving information to the king, and in order that he might live in a country more secure for his conscience and his life. It is interesting to note that he was charged with complaints to the king by the governor against the bishop and by the bishop against the governor. Pedrarias too seems to have begun to take this state of things to heart. He ordered the melting-house to be closed, and, together with the bishop, caused public prayers to be offered up that God would remove his anger from the colony. Of evil deeds there was certainly enough to rouse the wrath of the Almighty. With one expedition sent out by Pedrarias under the *Alcalde Mayor* Espinosa, there was a Franciscan monk named San Roman. In writing to the head of the Dominicans, San Roman begs the latter, for the love of God, to speak to the authorities at *San Domingo* and urge them to provide a remedy for the *Terra Firma*, which these tyrants were destroying. This letter was given by Pedro de Cordova to Las Casas. On his return

to Spain, the same Franciscan, it is to be hoped with some exaggeration, stated at Seville that in this expedition of Espinosa's he had seen killed by the sword or thrown to the dogs above forty thousand souls. Espinosa returned with two thousand captives, all of whom are said to have perished at *Darien*.

We have seen so far the results of the policy of Pedrarias and his lieutenants as regards the inhabitants of the Isthmus. We have now to turn to his treatment of the most capable and distinguished Spaniard within the colony, namely, the *Adelantado* Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. In the midst of the general gloom in which the settlement of *Darien* was enveloped, Pedrarias was continually haunted by the fear that the able *Adelantado* would one day oust him from his office. Had the choice of a leader depended on the people, he knew that Nuñez would have been elected by acclamation; and he had but recently received proofs of the high estimation in which his services were regarded by the king. He was further aware of the gloomy tales of misrule and consequent misery which were being constantly sent to Spain with reference to his own government. Whilst Pedrarias was in this frame of mind, a new idea was presented to him by Bishop Quevedo, the fast friend of Nuñez, who suggested a matrimonial alliance between the *Adelantado* and the governor's daughter. The suggestion seemed to be a happy one and was readily accepted by both parties, a regular contract being entered into, and the young lady being sent for from Spain.

1516. Vasco Nuñez was now the ally of the governor, whose jealousy was lost sight of in his desire to further the interests of his daughter's future husband. Nuñez was authorised to build brigantines and to make the necessary preparations for an expedition of discovery on the Southern Sea. A town named *Acla* was founded at a point to the west of *Darien*, whence there was supposed to be the most convenient route across the mountains.

Here Nuñez commenced his operations, having two hundred men placed under his command and being aided by an advance from the treasury. He was also assisted with funds by a notary of *Darien*, named Hernando de Arguello. Nuñez pursued his undertaking with his accustomed energy, and had in a short time constructed the materials of four brigantines. The timber was felled in the forest of *Acla*, and was then, with the anchors and rigging, transported to the opposite shore of the Isthmus. On this service were engaged Spaniards, negroes, and Indians. As there were no other roads save Indian paths through the primeval forests or up the rugged defiles, the work of transportation was similar to that with which the journals of Mr. Stanley in Africa have made us familiar in our own day. Many of the Indians perished over the task; but at length the ponderous loads were conveyed to a river which flowed into the Pacific.

Even then the labours of Nuñez and his men were far from being complete; for, with all their trouble, the Spaniards found that the timber which they had brought at such cost of labour and of life was useless, being worm-eaten from having been cut near salt water. They were obliged, therefore, to fell trees near the river and begin their work afresh. But the perseverance and good management of Nuñez at length overcame every difficulty. As food was scarce he divided his people into three bands, assigning to one the task of foraging for provisions, to another that of cutting and sawing the timber, and to the third that of bringing the rigging and the ironwork from *Acla*.

The patience of the working party was still further to be tried; for when the rainy season set in, the river rose so rapidly that the workmen had barely time to save their lives by climbing the nearest trees. The wood on which they had expended so much labour was either buried out of sight or carried away by the torrent. The same

cause prevented the foraging party from returning with food; and the workmen were thus reduced to feed on roots. In this extremity the Spaniards owed their relief to the ingenuity of the Indians, who contrived to fasten a number of logs together, thus making a floating bridge on which they were able to cross to the opposite bank, where they procured provisions.

When the river had subsided, the workmen resumed their operations; and, after immense toil, Vasco Nuñez had the satisfaction of seeing two of the brigantines afloat on the river *Balsas*. As soon as they could be fitted and manned for sea, he embarked in them with his companions on the mighty ocean which he had been the first European to discover. His first cruise was to the Pearl Islands, on one of which he disembarked the greater part of his men, sending back his vessels for the remainder. On their arrival, taking a hundred men with him, he set out on a reconnoitering cruise to the eastward, in the direction to which the natives pointed as being that of the land which abounded in gold. Nuñez and his party sailed for about twenty leagues beyond the Gulf of *San Miguel*, the seamen being alarmed at the number of whales which they met with. On this account he anchored for the night, intending to continue his cruise in the same direction next day. But when daylight came the wind had changed, whereupon he steered for land. It was at the point where a party of Spaniards under Morales had recently been massacred; and as the Indians were disposed to fight, Nuñez took vengeance upon them for the slaughter of his countrymen, after which he re-embarked and returned to *Isla Rica*.

Nuñez resolved to build his remaining brigantines at this island, and accordingly despatched men to *Acla* to bring the necessary rigging. It was at this time that a rumour reached him of the appointment of a new governor to supersede Pedrarias. His relations with the

latter were now so good that he was not a little disturbed by the rumour in question, since it was possible that the new governor might put a stop to the exploring expedition which he contemplated, or might entrust the command of it to some other person. Under these circumstances, he held a consultation with some of his friends as to what had better be done, and the fact that part of this conversation was overheard by a sentry who had taken refuge from the rain in the verandah of Nuñez' house, had an important bearing upon the fate of that cavalier. It was agreed that a trusty person should be sent to *Acla*, seemingly, on business. Should he find that there was no foundation for the rumour of the coming of a new governor, he was to explain to Pedrarias the progress of their operations, and to request further assistance. In the opposite event he was to return forthwith to *Isla Rica*; for in that case it had been determined that Nuñez and his party should put to sea at once on their expedition of discovery.

The messenger chosen to go to *Acla* was Garabito, the same who had been sent by Nuñez to *Cuba* for recruits. It is stated that this man was possessed by a secret enmity to Nuñez, on account of having been discovered and rebuked by the latter for his attentions to the daughter of the *Cacique* Careta, who all this time had lived with Nuñez, and to whom he is said to have been much attached. It is even said that Garabito in his jealousy went so far as to send an anonymous letter to Pedrarias, stating that Nuñez had no intention of marrying his daughter, and that he was merely playing a part to gain time. It is certain that Garabito, on his arrival at *Acla*, basely betrayed his confiding friend.

A new governor had indeed been sent out from Spain to supersede Pedrarias; but he had died in the harbour of *Darien*. From Garabito Pedrarias had no difficulty in extracting all the information which he possessed, and, further, all that he conjectured respecting the plans of

Nuñez. In fact, the suspicions of the jealous old governor had been thoroughly aroused afresh. The latter had made a lamentable mistake in allowing so long an interval to elapse without sending to his chief a report of the progress of his expedition, and there were not wanting at *Darien* jealous and mischief-making persons still further to irritate the governor's mind against him.

When Garabito was arrested, and when his papers were seized, there was a great commotion at *Darien*, and the friends of Nuñez were anxious to put him on his guard. Foremost amongst these was Arguello, who had embarked most of his fortune in his enterprise, and who now wrote him a letter urging him to put to sea without delay, and stating that he would be protected by the Geronomite Fathers at *San Domingo*, who had been sent out with full powers by Cardinal Ximenes, and who regarded with much approval the exploration of the Southern Sea. It was Nuñez' extreme misfortune that this letter should fall into the hands of Pedrarias, and that the latter should by this means become convinced of the existence of a plot against his authority. Arguello was now arrested; but the governor, being fully convinced of Nuñez' treasonable intentions, thought it necessary to have recourse to stratagem to get the latter within his power. Should he openly summon him to *Darien*, he did not doubt that he would lose no time in putting himself beyond his jurisdiction.

The mind of Pedrarias being thus a prey to fear and suspicion, he wrote an amicable letter to his *Adelantado*, requesting him to repair to *Acla*, to consult with him respecting the expedition; he at the same time ordered Pizarro to muster all the troops he could collect and to arrest Vasco Nuñez. The summons to proceed to *Acla* was instantly obeyed; and, unattended by any armed force, Nuñez, unconscious of having committed any crime, set out to meet his doom. On the road across the Isthmus, his frank and genial manners so gained on the

messengers of Pedrarias, that the latter at length felt bound to warn him of his danger. They could not see this gallant cavalier fall into the snare set for him without speaking a warning word by which he might profit to effect his escape. But Nuñez was so unconscious of evil thought towards Pedrarias, that he declined to take advantage of the opportunity offered to him. He was soon afterwards met and arrested by Pizarro.

Nuñez once in his power, the spiteful governor lost no time in urging the *alcalde mayor*, Espinosa, to proceed against the *Adelantado* with the utmost rigour of the law. The charge against Nuñez was that of being engaged in a treasonable conspiracy to throw off the king's authority and to assume an independent sway on the borders of the Pacific. The witnesses against him were Garabito and the sentinel who had overheard and misconstrued a portion of the conversation held between Nuñez and his officers at *Isla Rica* on the rainy night when it was resolved to despatch Garabito to *Acla*. Of the charge of treason against the crown Nuñez was entirely innocent. All that could be said against him was that, in case they should learn that Pedrarias had been superseded, he had agreed with his officers that they should sail on the expedition which Pedrarias had sanctioned without waiting for fresh orders from the new governor.

But it was in vain for Nuñez to be innocent; it was in vain that he indignantly repudiated the charge brought against him, pointing out that had he for a moment entertained the views attributed to him he would never have allowed himself to be entrapped into his present position. The mind of Pedrarias was hopelessly prejudiced against him, and the vindictive old man urged on the unwilling judge from day to day, heaping charge upon charge, until at length a sentence of death was pronounced against the accused. The judge recommended him to mercy on account of his services, or begged that at least he might

1517. be allowed to appeal. But these recommendations were lost on Pedrarias, and Nuñez was condemned to die. In the same sentence were included several of his officers as well as Arguello, who had written a letter to put him upon his guard. The informer Garabito was pardoned. In the public square of *Acla*, at the hands of the common headsman, the discoverer of the Southern Sea, at the early age of forty-two, expiated the crime of having aroused the jealousy of a narrow-minded official superior. The blow which then fell affected not Nuñez alone, but the whole Peruvian nation; for had he been permitted to carry out his proposed expedition, he would certainly have anticipated the discoveries of Pizarro, and, in view of the character of the two men respectively, who can doubt that the conquest of Peru would have had a widely different result?

CHAPTER IV.

LAS CASAS; HIS COLONY ON THE PEARL COAST.

1515-1521.

THE history of the northern coast of South America, from the Gulf of *Paria* to the Isthmus of *Darien*, is intimately connected with the history of slavery during the century which succeeded the date of the discovery of the New World. Modern slavery in Europe (not including the Ottoman dominions) seems to have dated from the war between the Spaniards and the Moors, when such of the latter as were made prisoners were, under Ferdinand, as a matter of course, sold as slaves. It was a period when the Church was all in all as regards the European polity. Whatever the head of the Church chose to say was right, and became therefore right in the eyes of the sons of the Church. The will of the Sovereign Pontiff became law, and was appealed to as an ultimate court of reference throughout Christendom.

The state of public morality then existing amongst Christian nations, in respect to people and races not within the pale of Christianity, was more or less what it had been in the time of the Crusades. There was at the best merely a truce existing at any one time between the Christian and the Moslem powers. Their principles were antagonistic and incompatible. The days had not yet arrived when the Turk was to be called in as an ally by one Christian power fighting against another.

Such being the state of things when new islands and continents were suddenly discovered, no one in Christendom dreamed of questioning the absolute right of the Pope to dispose of them as he might see fit; and in accordance with this view, the line was originally drawn by Pope Alexander VI., fixing the limit of the Spanish and Portuguese territories respectively, first at a hundred leagues to the west of the *Azores*, and subsequently, by the Treaty of Tordesillas, at three hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the *Cape de Verde* Islands. By the Bull of May 2nd, 1493 (the year after the discovery of America), the Spanish sovereigns obtained the same rights, privileges, and indulgences in respect to the newly-discovered regions, as had been granted to the Portuguese with regard to their African discoveries, subject to the same condition of planting and spreading the Catholic faith. It was not for a moment considered in the matter that the natives of the newly-discovered regions possessed any rights whatsoever, saving such as might be granted to them by their Christian invaders, acting under the orders of the Catholic kings whose claims were sanctioned by the head of the Church.

It was but the fulfilment of the promise of Scripture that the heathen should be given to God's people for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession; * and thus, according to the opinion of the best ecclesiastical and legal authorities, it was fair and right to enslave such natives of the new countries as might oppose in arms the Christians who came to take possession of their lands, or who, being addicted to cannibalism, were beyond the pale of humanity. It is necessary to bear the above facts in mind in order to judge fairly the conduct of some of the greatest men of the period, including Prince Henry of Portugal and Columbus himself.

* Psalm ii. 8.

Prince Henry and Columbus were the two great originators of the geographical discoveries of the age. Either of the two was profoundly religious, and in the mind of each the ardour for propagating the true faith existed equally with the ardour for discovery. It is a strange and sad reflection that each one of those two great men—in some respects the greatest men of their age—was the originator of a new form of slavery. To Prince Henry is to be traced the origin of the enslavement of African negroes; to Columbus that of the system of *encomiendas* or partitions of Indians amongst Spanish settlers. Either system was productive of untold misery to large classes of the human race, and in one case the evil is not even yet extinct, as witness *Brazil* and *Cuba*. And yet the motives of Prince Henry in originating and sanctioning African slavery, were, without doubt, not only wholly unselfish, but were dictated solely by a desire for the spiritual enlightenment and civilization of the heathen. The motives of Columbus were perhaps more open to question. It is true that he himself, when on his last visit to *Hispaniola* he had seen the miserable results of the system which he had originated, declared to his sovereign that in sending home Indian captives to be sold as slaves he had been actuated solely by a desire for their spiritual welfare, and by the hope that they would return to spread civilization amongst their countrymen; but it is to be remembered that the motives of the great Genoese were not wholly pure, and that he himself repeatedly requested permission to send home Indians to be sold as slaves in order to diminish the expense to the crown in connection with the colony. He was rightfully rebuked by the pure-minded Isabella, who indignantly ordered such Indians to be returned to their country, and instructed the admiral that their conversion was to be brought about by the ordinary means, and not by their being enslaved.

It is only fair to the early Spanish settlers in America,

the account of whose proceedings in respect to the Indians cannot fail to rouse feelings of horror and disgust, that we should duly consider and weigh the feelings of the age in which they lived on the part of Christendom towards all who were beyond its pale. They were in fact the feelings of the chosen people towards the surrounding heathen, who were only deserving of being spared on condition of their becoming hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is true that in the case of a number of Spanish leaders, including Columbus himself and his brother *Don* Bartholomew, the Indians were to be spared and protected on the condition of their accepting the yoke imposed upon them and fulfilling the tasks assigned to them by their invaders; but upon the slightest resistance or evasion of their duties, all their natural rights were at once abrogated, and they became as so many beasts of burden, to be employed at the pleasure of their drivers. Amongst rulers and governors Queen Isabella stands out alone to protest against such a construction of the duties of one race towards another, even although the one were Christian and the other heathen.

But yet, seeking to make every allowance that can be urged in excuse or palliation, there is but one verdict that can possibly be given as to the general conduct of the Spaniards towards the natives of America, namely, that it surpassed in remorseless, and often stupid and short-sighted, cruelty the conduct of any one conquering or so-called "superior" race towards another conquered or "inferior" race of which history contains any record. In this respect we cannot but think that the Spaniards as a race have been too leniently judged by modern writers—not Spanish, but foreign. Much, for instance, as Washington Irving is to be admired for his clear judgment and his mastery of his subject, we cannot help thinking that he is scarcely justified in assigning the undoubted excesses committed by Spaniards in the New World merely to a set of ruthless adventurers, the scum

of their race, rather than to Spaniards in general. It would of course be in the highest degree unjust to make an entire people responsible for the wholesale atrocities of two unlettered adventurers such as Pizarro and Almagro; but the accusation of scandalous and intolerable rapacity and cruelty is unfortunately not confined to the class to which such men belong; it applies equally to all ranks and grades of the invaders, with here and there a notable exception—generally, but not always, on the part of one or more churchmen—most of all in Las Casas.

The conduct of Ovando towards the natives of *Hispaniola*, and more particularly to those of *Xaragua*, is one of the many instances in question of the inhuman treatment of Indians by a Spaniard of the highest rank. It will be remembered that on one occasion some eighty *caciques* were treacherously seized, and upon mere unfounded suspicion, bound to posts and committed to the flames. It was estimated that at the time of the advent of the Spaniards the unfortunate island of *Hayti* contained about a million or twelve hundred thousand inhabitants—some writers place the population at a much larger amount,—yet in an incredibly short period, under the government of Ovando, it was reduced to twelve thousand, so reduced, indeed, that labourers had to be brought from other islands. And yet Ovando had been specially selected for his “prudence,” in order that he might redress the wrongs to which the Indians were said to be subjected under the government of Columbus and his brother, and the Indians were specially commended to his care by Queen Isabella.

It may be said that the conduct of one tyrannical governor should not be charged to the discredit of a people. This would be a fair argument had Ovando been promptly recalled when the news of his atrocities at *Xaragua* reached Spain, as was in our own day Governor Eyre, when the news of his high-handed proceedings in *Jamaica* reached England. Ovando's proceedings

were indeed so repugnant to the humane heart of Isabella that with her dying breath she exacted a promise from Ferdinand that he should be recalled from his government. He was, later on, recalled, but only after the lapse of four years, and when *Don Diego Columbus* had been declared by the courts of justice to be entitled to the government of *Hispaniola*. The long period which elapsed between the fate of Anacoana and the recall of Ovando showed that neither his king nor the public feeling of Spain in general was much shocked by the proceedings which have left an indelible stain upon his name.

But it cannot be imagined that the wholesale depopulation of *Hayti* is chargeable merely to one or more governors. It is to be attributed indiscriminately to the colonists in general, and amongst them were many cavaliers who had gone to seek their fortune in the New World in the train of Ovando. If we turn in other directions we see merely a repetition of the same facts. Cortez and many of his compeers were men of noble family; but in the history of their deeds we find at least equal cruelty, as regards the natives, with that which attended the proceedings of such low-born adventurers as Pizarro and Almagro. Whilst excellent laws and regulations for the well-being and proper treatment of the natives of America were constantly being enacted in Spain, we nowhere read of wholesome examples being made of the wrong-doers who treated these laws as a dead letter. Even the laws and regulations, good and well meant as they were, were not the result of the reaction of public opinion against the ill-treatment of the Indians, but were brought about by a few humane ecclesiastics who had been helpless eye-witnesses of the atrocities committed by their countrymen, and who returned to Spain with the hope of rousing the conscience of the sovereign and his advisers to a sense of the enormities which were being daily committed in his name. This brings us to the historical part played by

Las Casas on the continent of South America ; but before describing it, it may be well to give a brief statement of what had already been done by other ecclesiastics in the same cause.

The Dominican monks of *Hispaniola*, grieved at the barbarities practised towards the natives of that unfortunate island, had entered an indignant protest against the treatment which was meted out to the vassals of Queen Isabella. These monks were about twelve or fifteen in number, and they soon gathered for themselves an idea of the cruelties which were being practised around them. As they determined that their protest should be a collective one, they agreed that a discourse should be preached before the inhabitants of *San Domingo*, to which they should all attach their names. The preacher, taking for his text "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness," declared to his audience with piercing words that they were living in mortal sin by reason of their tyranny to the Indians, and he demanded what authority there was for the imposition of this servitude, and what ground for these wars? The sermon was heard to the end, but on reflection the principal persons amongst the audience went to the monastery to make a fierce remonstrance.

They insisted on seeing the preacher, and required that he should make a retractation on the following Sunday. Next Sunday came, and the place of worship was crowded by a congregation brought together to hear the expected apology. The same preacher again ascended the pulpit ; but Father Antonio only repeated his former statements and insisted upon their conclusions. He moreover added that the Dominicans would not confess any man who should have made incursions amongst the Indians. The congregation again listened to the discourse ; but they determined to send a complaint to the king, and afterwards to despatch a Franciscan monk to argue their case at court. Thus were two orders of the

Church arrayed against each other; the one urged on by motives of Christianity and humanity, the other by religious rivalry.

The Dominicans likewise resolved to send their advocate, and amongst the colonists some pious persons were found to defray the expenses of his voyage. The advocate selected was Father Antonio. When the letters from the authorities of *San Domingo* had reached the king, his majesty had sent for the head of their order in Spain, and had complained to him of the scandal occasioned in the colony by this preaching. Soon after this the envoys arrived, Father Alonso, the Franciscan, being well received by the authorities, and having free access to the king, whilst the doors of the presence-chamber were closed against the Dominican. Father Antonio, however, watching his time, obtained the desired audience. King Ferdinand was inexpressibly shocked at his statement, and gave orders that the matter should be diligently looked into forthwith. He was true to his word, and summoned a *junta* to consider the matter. This board was formed partly of the king's council and partly of theologians.

According to Las Casas the *junta* came to the decision —“That the Indians were free men; that they ought to be instructed in the Christian faith; that they might be ordered to work, but so that their working should not hinder their conversion, and should be such as they could endure; that they should have cottages and lands of their own, and time to work for themselves; that they should be made to hold communication with the Christians; and that they should receive wages, not paid in money, but in clothes and furniture for their cottages.” Such was the reply of the *junta* to the king. Meanwhile Father Antonio, being much grieved at not obtaining a sufficient hearing, determined upon the bold course of convincing his opponent the Franciscan. He told him that others were but using him as a tool; that he was perilling the

reward of a life of sanctity by doing the devil's work without being paid even in the devil's wages, and appealed to his own experience as regarded the inhumanity he had witnessed. Strange to say, the Franciscan was entirely gained over, and put himself under the guidance of his rival.

On receiving the reply from the *junta*, the king's ministers requested that body to draw up a set of laws in conformity with the principles which they had affirmed; but this they declined to do. Meanwhile the king's conscience seems to have become uneasy in the matter, and he was willing that the question should be further considered. He asked an opinion in writing from his two preachers; and as this coincided with that of the *junta*, it was adopted by the king, and nothing remained but to carry it into execution. A set of laws was accordingly drawn up by certain members of the council, who took as their basis that the system of *encomiendas* was to be retained. The laws were to the following effect:—"The Indians were first to be brought amongst the Spaniards; all gentle means being used towards the *caciques*, to persuade them to come willingly. Then, for every fifty Indians four *bohios* (large huts) should be made by their masters. The *bohios* were to be thirty feet in length by fifteen in breadth. Three thousand *montones* (the hillocks which were used to preserve the plants from too much moisture) of *yuca*, of which they made the *cassava* bread, two thousand *montones* of *yams*, with a certain space for growing *pimento*, and a certain number of fowls, were to be assigned for the living of these fifty Indians."

Every Spaniard having an *encomienda* of Indians, was to construct some sort of chapel in which prayers were to be read morning and evening, and a church was to be erected for the general neighbourhood. It was enacted that the Indians were to work at the mines for five months at a time, when they were to have forty days in which to till their own land, when they were to

return to the mines. Certain regulations were made concerning their food, which Las Casas condemns in entirety. The employment of the Indians in the mines was not only encouraged but insisted upon. One *peso* of gold was to be given to each Indian annually, with which to provide his clothes.

Two visitors were to be appointed for each Spanish settlement ; but as these were permitted to have *encomiendas*, it was scarcely to be expected that their proceedings should be impartial. The *caciques* were to have not more than six Indians set apart for their service, and the *cacique* and his attendants were to go to whatsoever Spaniard had the greatest number of the same tribe allotted to him. They were to be employed in light and easy services.

Such is a brief summary of the laws promulgated at Burgos, in December 1512, and which have ever since been called the Laws of Burgos.

When the king had spoken to the provincial of the Dominicans condemning the sermons of Father Antonio, the provincial wrote to the head of the order in *Hispaniola*, upon which Pedro de Cordova came over to Spain and presented himself at court. When he had read the laws of Burgos and had expressed his dissatisfaction with them, King Ferdinand said to him, "Take upon yourself, then, Father, the charge of remedying them ; you will do me a great service therein ; and I will order that what you decide upon shall be adopted." With inexplicable diffidence the vicar replied, "I beseech your highness, do not command me." And he thus lost the golden opportunity of effecting the reforms to bring about which he had come all the way from *Hispaniola*.

On receiving this culpable and deplorable reply, King Ferdinand summoned another *junta* to see if the laws could be ameliorated. Pedro de Cordova assisted, but did not succeed in doing much, although what little was done was in accordance with his views. The additions

to the laws were mainly with a view to the cultivation of decorum and of family ties amongst the Indians.

Las Casas was a settler in the island of *Cuba*, and had assigned to him a number of Indians in *repartimiento*. He himself states that he was as much engaged as others in sending his Indians to the mines and in making a profit out of their labour; but at the same time he treated them with kindness and provided for their sustenance. He confesses, however, that he paid no more regard than did other Spaniards to their religious instruction. Reflection on the preaching of the Dominicans against the sin of possessing Indians led his candid mind to the conclusion that the system of *repartimientos* was iniquitous, and that he too must preach against it. The first practical point to be determined as a result of the light which now guided him was what he ought to do with his Indians. He evidently ought no longer to retain them; nor did he grudge the loss that he should thereby sustain; but he felt that no one would be so indulgent to them as the master they were about to lose, and that they would be worked to death. Still it would be vain for him to preach against *repartimientos* whilst he retained Indians of his own.

Las Casas commenced his preaching against Indian slavery in *Cuba*; but he soon resolved to proceed to Spain, in order to attack the evil at its fountain-head. It was certainly time that some independent representation should be made to the Spanish government as to the condition of the Indians of *Cuba*, which was so miserable that they were forced to seek refuge in flight; and when even this refuge was denied them—for they were pursued by blood-hounds—they had recourse to suicide. On his arrival in *Hispaniola*, Las Casas found that Pedro de Cordova, the chief of the Dominicans, had set out on a voyage for the purpose of founding monasteries on the Pearl Coast.

Two Dominicans, whose fate is instructive as showing

the colonial manners of the period, established themselves at a point about twenty leagues from *Cumana* called *Maracapána*, where they were hospitably received by the Indians. Soon after the arrival of Francisco de Cordova and Juan Garces, a Spanish vessel engaged in the pearl fisheries touched at the same point. It may be remarked that the mainland had been especially chosen as a field for missionary operations in order that the efforts of the priests might not be thwarted by the evil example of the secular colonists. As a rule the appearance of a Spanish vessel was a signal for the natives to take to flight; but on this occasion, the Dominican missionaries being looked upon as hostages, the *cacique* of the place, with his family and servants, numbering seventeen persons, accepted an invitation on board the Spanish ship. When they were safely on board, the vessel weighed anchor and set sail. As was to be expected, the Indians on shore, who were witnesses of this treachery, resolved to kill the two Dominicans, and were only dissuaded from doing so on the assurance of the latter that the *cacique* and his family would be returned within four months.

By another Spanish vessel, which soon afterwards made its appearance on the coast, the two missionaries were enabled to communicate their circumstances to the chief of their order at *San Domingo*. On the arrival at that place of the first vessel, it was declared that, as it had not been furnished with a proper license, it must be condemned as a prize; and therefore the *cacique* and his family were divided as slaves amongst the judges of appeal! Some days after this transaction came the letters of the two missionaries, whereupon the man-stealing captain took refuge in a monastery. The Dominicans lost no time in communicating the circumstances of the *cacique's* capture; but the judges of appeal declined to give up their slaves, and at the end of the stipulated four months the two unfortunate missionaries were put to death!

In September 1515 Las Casas, accompanied by two brethren, embarked for Spain. On his arrival he was presented to the Archbishop of Seville, who, in turn, furnished him with letters to the king, with whom he obtained an interview. Las Casas was fortunate enough ^{1515.} to gain the sympathy of King Ferdinand's confessor; but he found an enemy to his cause in Fonseca, the bishop of Burgos, who was the minister entrusted with Indian affairs, and who was himself a possessor of Indians. Soon after this, in January 1516, the king died.

The hopes of Las Casas were now transferred to the Regent, Cardinal Ximenes, with whom he was fortunate enough to find favour, and who called together a *junta* to listen to his statements and arguments. The result was that the cardinal appointed Las Casas and two coadjutors to draw up a plan to secure the liberty of the Indians, and to arrange their government. In order to execute the laws agreed upon, Ximenes determined to employ Jeronimite monks, as they were not mixed up with the disputes which had arisen between the Franciscans and the Dominicans respecting the fitness of the Indians for freedom. The three Jeronimite Fathers chosen were instructed on their arrival at *San Domingo* to call the colonists together and to announce that the cause of their coming was a report of the ill-treatment of the Indians, and to ask their suggestions for a remedy for such a state of things. They were likewise to go to the principal *caciques*, and to inform them that they had been sent to find out the truth, to punish past wrong-doing, and to provide security for the future. It was the will of the governors of Spain that the Indians should be treated as Christians and free men.

The Jeronimite Fathers were to visit every island; to ascertain the number of Indians; and to find out how they had been treated, taking notes of the nature of the land for the purpose of forming settlements near the mines. Such settlements were to consist of about three

hundred persons, with the requisite buildings, and lands were to be apportioned to each settlement, every individual receiving a plot. One administrator was to be appointed to each one or two settlements. Other regulations applied to religion, education, hospitals, labour upon farms and at the mines, and respecting pasturage and the division of gold. In order in some measure to reimburse the Spaniards for the loss of Indian slave-labour which they would incur, they were to be paid for the land which would be required for the settlements, whilst they were to be permitted to procure gold on easy terms for themselves. They were likewise allowed four or five slaves each from amongst the *Caribs*, these being cannibals. This latter clause was sure to lead to great abuses, as it was only necessary for the slave-hunters to declare their captives cannibals to justify their proceedings. This provision was inserted contrary to the wishes of Las Casas. Finally, he himself was appointed "Protector of the Indians." With these regulations, and with the cardinal's benediction, Las Casas set out from Seville.

1516.

In December 1516 the Jeronimite Fathers and the Protector of the Indians arrived at *San Domingo*, having performed the voyage in different vessels. No sooner had they arrived than they began to prove themselves not exactly the instruments he would have chosen for the accomplishment of his wishes. As a matter of course they were beset by the colonists, who represented Las Casas as a mere visionary, and in their conversations with him they soon began to make excuses for the inhumanity of the colonists. Nor, although they deprived such persons as were absent of their Indians, did they think it necessary to apply the same rule to the judges and other men in office. After a short time, the lawyer appointed by Ximenes to take a *residencia* of—in other words, to make an inquiry into the conduct of—all the judges in the Indies, arrived at *Hispaniola*. Las Casas then took the bold step of impeaching the judges, whom

he accused of both bringing Indians from the *Lucayan* islands and of causing the death of the two Dominicans in *Cumana*, a measure which was distasteful to the Jeronimites, who preferred to manage things quietly.

The Fathers had not the courage to adopt in their full extent the measures which were within their power; but they nevertheless made considerable efforts to improve the condition of the Indians, publishing the orders in this respect and encouraging the natives to come to them with their complaints. They likewise wrote to Pedrarias, the governor of *Darien*, ordering him to make no more expeditions, and to send an account of the gold and slaves which he had taken. He was likewise to inquire into the justice of his Indians' capture, and to restore such as it should turn out had been unlawfully taken. The Fathers also formed some of the Indians into settlements, which were, however, of no long duration, owing partly to the ravages of the small-pox.

The proceedings of the Jeronimite Fathers were, however, too lukewarm in their nature to suit the ardent soul of Las Casas, who now determined to return to Spain in order to complain of them, in which measure he was confirmed by the prior of the Dominicans and likewise by the special judges. The Fathers were much disconcerted at the move, and sent one of their own body to represent them at court. Las Casas reached Castile to find his patron Ximenes at the point of death, but the intrepid Protector of the Indians brought his case before the Grand Chancellor, who spoke of him to the king and received his commands to consult with him as to a remedy for the government of the Indies. One result of this consultation was certainly a singular one. Whilst it was proposed to send out Spanish labourers in considerable numbers, in the pay of the government, to *Hispaniola*, Las Casas himself suggested that in addition a certain number of negro slaves might be imported.

The author of this suggestion lived to acknowledge and to deplore its unjust character.

Before this period, negro slaves had been imported into the Spanish possessions in America, and King Charles had only recently granted licenses to certain persons to import Africans into *Hispaniola*. The Jeronimite Fathers likewise looked upon the importation of Africans, who could better bear severe labour, as a remedy for the trials of the Indians, and the measure obtained the concurrence of the judge of *residencia*. The suggestion, when made by Las Casas, was approved of. The number of negroes which it was thought would suffice for the present was four thousand; and accordingly De Dresá, a Fleming, obtained a license from the king for this purpose—a grant which was accompanied by the assurance of a monopoly for eight years. The result of the monopoly was that the price of negroes greatly rose, the suggestion as to Spanish colonists being sent to the Indies not having been acted upon.

The Chancellor at this time dying, the influence of Las Casas was once more shaken. Fonseca, the bishop of Burgos, again returned to power, and, as a consequence, the Jeronimite Fathers were recalled. Las Casas was fortunate enough to obtain the interest on behalf of the Indians of a gentleman immediately attached to the king; and his representations were from time to time fortified by the accounts received of some fresh atrocities committed by the Spaniards in America. The Dominican prior, Pedro de Cordova, had much to tell his colleague of the slave-hunting exploits of the Spaniards in *Trinidad*, and he suggested that one hundred leagues on the coast of *Cumana* should be set apart by the king as a territory in which the Franciscans and the Dominicans might preach the gospel undisturbed by the presence of laymen.

Las Casas, failing for the meantime to obtain such a grant, fell back upon his scheme of Spanish emigration,

and about two hundred men were actually sent out from Seville, a measure which was not attended by any beneficial result, since the emigrants were left on their arrival to provide for themselves from their own resources. A new Grand Chancellor was now appointed; and in his eyes Las Casas likewise found favour. To Gattinara the Protector of the Indians submitted a new scheme of colonization. The plan was that a sort of religious fraternity should be created, consisting of fifty knights, and that by their aid Las Casas should settle the country for a thousand leagues along the coast from *Paria*, a distance which was subsequently reduced to two hundred and sixty leagues. By the help of the king's preachers, this idea of Las Casas was actually put in the way of being realized.

After the usual Spanish course of *juntas* and much arguing, it was resolved that the land which Las Casas sought for should be granted to him, although at each step his proposition was opposed by the Bishop of Burgos. Immediately before the departure of Charles from Coruña in May 1520, in order to be crowned Emperor of Germany, the king signed the necessary deed of grant to Las Casas. The land which he thus acquired extended from the province of *Paria* in the east to that of *Santa Martha* in the west, and was to go through the continent to the Pacific. Las Casas embarked at *San Lucar* on the 11th of November 1520, taking with him some humble labourers. After a favourable voyage, he arrived at *Porto Rico*, where he was destined to meet with some startling news that had considerable influence on the fate of the expedition which he had undertaken.

It has been already stated how two Dominican missionaries met their martyrdom at *Cumaná*; but their fate did not at all deter their brethren from following in their footsteps. Accordingly, in the year 1518, several Franciscans and Dominicans founded two monasteries on the Pearl Coast, where they were joined by other monks,

and where they lived in peaceful intercourse with the Indians. There was thus a fair prospect of some settlements in the New World existing without forced labour or other cruelty towards the natives. But this was not to be. In the neighbouring island of *Cubagua* there was a certain Ojeda, who occupied himself with pearl-fishing, and who paid a visit to the mainland with the object of picking up some slaves. Coming to the settlement of *Maricapána*, he proceeded to buy some maize from one of the tribes, and he, naturally enough, requested the service of fifty men to assist in carrying it to his vessel. Once on the shore, the misguided men were attacked by the Spaniards and a number of them carried on board ship. It is some satisfaction to know that when Ojeda next landed he was watched for and slain.

The natural result of the above transactions was that, a few days afterwards, the Dominican monastery was attacked and its inmates put to death. The Franciscan monastery at *Chiribichi* was likewise attacked. In all eighty Spaniards were killed, and the island of *Cubagua* was evacuated. These events had taken place at the close of the year 1519, and the "Audience" at *San Domingo* prepared an expedition to punish and enslave the Indians of the Pearl Coast, which expedition, under Ocampo, met Las Casas at *Porto Rico*. In vain he endeavoured, by showing his "powers" to the commander, to divert him from his purpose. All that Las Casas could do was to hasten to *San Domingo*, leaving his labourers at *Porto Rico*.

The Protector of the Indians was now very generally detested by the colonists, who seemed leagued together to defeat his plans. He caused a proclamation to be made of the royal order of which he was the bearer, that no one should injure any of the natives of the provinces granted to him; and, in accordance with this order, he demanded the recall of the fleet and the discontinuance of the war. The authorities could not openly refuse

compliance; but they required time for consideration, and meanwhile Ocampo was doing his work. The vessel in which Las Casas sailed was likewise declared unseaworthy and was condemned, thereby causing its owner much loss and debarring him from the means of transit.

Las Casas was soon made aware of the success of Ocampo by the number of slaves which were sent by him to *Hispaniola* to be sold. The sight made him so indignant that the "Audience" proposed to make terms with him, offering to place Ocampo's expedition under his command, and to share with him the profits of the territory which he was to govern. It is to be remarked that, in agreeing to this arrangement, Las Casas a second time compromised himself on the subject of slavery, one of the means of profit in the undertaking being slave-dealing. The Protector of the Indians was to ascertain which of them were cannibals, or which should decline to have any dealings with the Spaniards or the gospel. Such men were to be attacked and enslaved; but, in agreeing to this arrangement, Las Casas merely consented to accept a power which he had no intention of exercising. Without this clause the agreement would not have been accepted by the others who were parties to it.

His vessels being ready and well stored with provisions, Las Casas set sail in July 1521, and proceeded to *Porto Rico*, where a fresh disappointment awaited him. The followers whom he had left there had all dispersed, and he had to proceed to the *Terra Firma*, where he soon found himself left with a few servants and labourers, since Ocampo and his men availed themselves of the arrival of the vessels to return to *San Domingo*. In this condition Las Casas had at least the comfort of finding that the Franciscan monastery had been re-established. He joined the community, and by means of the wife of a *cacique* who was acquainted with Spanish, he established friendly relations with the Indians. There was, however,

a stumbling-block in his way in the vicinity of the island of *Cubagua*. As this island possessed no fresh water, the Spaniards who were engaged in pearl-fishing on its coast constantly visited the *Terra Firma* to take in a supply.

All the preaching of the missionary colonist was once more of no avail with the natives in the presence of the frequent visits of his man-stealing countrymen; and at last Las Casas was persuaded against his own inclination to return to *San Domingo* to complain to the "Audience" of the mischief done by the Spaniards from *Cubagua*. His deputy, in disobedience to the written instructions he had left, sent away the only two boats which the colony possessed to traffic for pearls and gold. In their absence the monastery was attacked by the Indians, and, being in a defenceless condition, was set on fire. The inmates, however, with the exception of two or three, succeeded in making their escape in a canoe, in which they were fortunate enough to reach a Spanish vessel. Thus ended the attempt at forming a moral Spanish colony on the mainland, which had cost Las Casas so many years of labour in the face of ridicule and opposition. The unfortunate philanthropist now abandoned his scheme as hopeless and took refuge in a Dominican monastery.

Cumana was now no longer the scene of missionary efforts. The last outrage of the Indians was of course avenged, and the slave marts of *Cubagua* and *San Domingo* were once more filled. But as the Indians found themselves safer in the interior, the whole coast was left desolate, and the provinces which Columbus had found so beautiful and populous, now merely afforded a forest for slave-hunting expeditions, which set out from *Aricapana*. The last-named place became the headquarters of a piratical Spanish band numbering several hundreds, who lived entirely by predatory expeditions, the extent of which may be judged from the fact that

the Italian traveller Benzoni witnessed the return of one with four thousand slaves—the survivors of a far greater number—who were sent to *Cubagua* for disposal.

NOTE.—Chapters I. to IV. of vol. I. are, for the most part, founded upon the following works, namely :—

Navarrete (Don M. F. de); *Viages y Descubrimientos de los Españoles desde fines del Siglo XV.*, 5 vol. sm. 4to.

Amerigo (Vespucci), *Viaggi*.

Vesputius (A.) *Navigationum Epit.—Grynæi; Canovæ; Ramusio, i; Broseæ.*

Martyris (Petri ab Angleria);—*De Insulis nuper repertis—Grynæi Orbis.* Eight Decades of the Ocean.—Hakluyt, V.

The Spanish Conquest in America; by Arthur Helps. John W. Parker & Son, 1855.

Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*

Hist. del Almirante.

Oviedo, *Cronica de las Indias.*

Muñoz, *Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, lib. ii.

Benzoni, *History of the New World*, translated: Hakluyt Society.

The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus; together with the Voyages of his Companions. By Washington Irving. London: John Murray, 1849.

CHAPTER V.

BRAZIL ; THE PLATE ; AND PARAGUAY.

1499-1557.

IN the year 1499, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, of Palos, one of the three brothers who had sailed with Columbus in his first voyage seven years previously, obtained from the king of Castile the necessary permission to embark on an expedition of discovery on the Atlantic. Pinzon, who was accompanied by two nephews, as well as by several sailors who had sailed with Columbus, set out with four *caravels* from the port of Palos, putting to sea in the beginning of December. After passing the *Canary* and the *Cape de Verde* Islands, the expedition proceeded to the south-west. Having sailed about seven hundred leagues, they crossed the equator and lost sight of the north star. On crossing the equinoctial line they encountered a terrible tempest ; but the confused mariners looked in vain for a guide whereby to steer. Pinzon pursued his course resolutely to the west, and after sailing for about two hundred and forty leagues further, being then in the eighth degree of southern latitude, he beheld, on the 20th of January, a point of land, which he called *Consolacion*, but which is now known as *Cape St. Augustine*, in the province of *Pernambuco*. The sea was discoloured, and on sounding, they found sixteen fathoms of water. Pinzon, as in duty bound, landed with a notary and took formal possession of the territory for the crown of Castile. The natives whom he saw in the neighbourhood declined to have any dealings whatsoever with the stran-

1500.

gers; and not liking their appearance, the commander made sail next day and stood to the north-west until he came to the mouth of a river where he again encountered a multitude of naked Indians with whom his men had a desperate encounter, in which a number of Spaniards were wounded or slain. Discouraged by this reception, the navigator now stood forty leagues to the north-west, being once more near the equinoctial line. Here the water was so sweet that he replenished his casks from it.

Astonished at this phenomenon, he stood in for land, and arrived among a number of islands whose people he found hospitable and in no way afraid of intercourse with the strangers. By degrees Pinzon realised the fact that these islands lay at the mouth of an immense river, a river so great that its dimensions can scarcely be realised by one accustomed even to the largest of European streams, such as the Danube or the Volga, far less by one whose ideas of an inland stream were formed by the Guadalquivir. The mariner had in fact alighted at the mouth of the mightiest of the mighty streams of the New World, a river which pours into the ocean a greater volume of water than even the *Mississippi* or the *Plata*; he had reached the *Amazons*, a stream which, discovered at its mouth by one Spaniard, was, a few years later, to be traced throughout the greater part of its course down to the ocean by another Spaniard, the ill-fated Orellana.

The *Amazons* at its mouth has a breadth of no less than thirty leagues, the volume of water proceeding through which penetrates for forty leagues into the sea before losing its sweetness. Whilst lying at the mouth of this river, Pinzon encountered a sudden swelling of the stream, which, meeting the current of the ocean, caused a rise of more than five fathoms, the mountain waves threatening his ships with destruction. Having extricated his vessels with no small difficulty from this danger, Pinzon, finding that there was no object to de-

tain him in this region, showed that he was not less civilised than other Spanish navigators at the time in the matter of requiting hospitality, by carrying off thirty-six natives as slaves.

Having the polar star once more to guide him, the mariner pursued his course along the coast, passing the mouths of the *Orinoco*, and entering the gulf of *Pária*, where he took in brazil-wood, and from which he emerged by the celebrated *Boca del Drago*. He subsequently reached Palos about the end of September of the same year, having lost two of his vessels at the *Bahamas*. Vicente Pinzon has the glory of having been the first European to cross the equinoctial line on the Western Atlantic and of having discovered *Brazil*.

1500. Later in the same year in which Pinzon had discovered Cape *St. Augustine* and had taken possession of the neighbouring coast in the name of the sovereigns of Castile, an event happened which illustrates how sometimes in human affairs the effect of accident may almost anticipate the calculations and discoveries of genius.* Scarcely eight years had elapsed since Columbus had set out on that voyage which, according to the motto beneath his armorial bearings, gave a new world to Castile and to Léon, when another expedition was equipped by King Emanuel of Portugal, the commander of which, without having the least idea of discovering land to the westwards, accidentally lighted upon the coast of South America.

But although Cabral has little or no merit in having been one of the first two independent discoverers of *Brazil*, yet it would be unfair to state that chance was wholly answerable for his discovery, and that scientific inquiry had no share in the matter. Scientific inquiry in this instance was, however, not due to Cabral, but to Prince Henry of Portugal, the great patron of maritime exploration along the western coast of Africa, and who,

* *Vide* Robertson.

though he did not survive to know it, had paved the way for the great achievement of Vasco de Gama. It was in order to follow up the discoveries of the hero of the *Lusiad* that King Emanuel had equipped the squadron which left Belem on the Tagus, with befitting pomp and solemnity, in March A.D. 1500. The commander took with him a banner blessed by the Bishop of Ceuta, and set out under a royal salute from the fleet. It is remarkable that this expedition, destined to add to the Portuguese position in the East, should lead to the foundation of the Lusian Empire of the West.

Cabral steered for the Cape *de Verdes* and then westwards to escape "the Doldrums" or calms on the African coast ; and so sailing, he, on the 25th of April, sighted land near the harbour which bears his name. He himself now proceeded on his original destination eastward, but he sent back one of his vessels to inform his king of his discovery in the West, to follow up which an expedition was next year despatched.

Amerigo Vespucci, now in the service of Portugal, landed on the coast of Brazil south of the equator ; but the cannibal savages whom he discovered declined to have any dealings with the intruders whom their domains ^{1501.} could not but attract. The forests were like gardens of flowers, the trees having blossoms of all colours, contrasted with the perfection of effect only met with in nature. Parasites filled the intervening spaces between trees and boughs, whilst orchids hung from them in the air, and birds of tropical plumage warbled amidst groves of pomegranate and orange trees. As Vespucci and his companions sailed southwards, new heavens were revealed to his wondering eyes, the Southern Cross looking down upon them in its glory. On reaching the eighth degree of southern latitude they found the natives more tractable. They were welcomed everywhere, and were thus enabled to explore the coast. They coasted onwards till the thirty-second degree, when they put out to sea, going

twenty degrees further in the same direction. Here they met with stormy weather, and the cold became intense, so that Vespucci deemed it expedient to retrace his way to Lisbon, which place he reached in safety after a voyage of sixteen months. It was from this voyage that Amerigo Vespucci was considered the discoverer of the mainland of South America. His name was at first applied to these southern regions, but was afterwards extended to the whole continent. Vespucci was ignorant that *Brazil* had previously been discovered both by Pinzon and Cabral. His account of his voyage, addressed to Lorenzo de Medici, was published at Strasburg in 1505. It is said to have been printed in Venice in 1504.

In the spring of the ensuing year (1503) Vespucci again sailed from Lisbon with a squadron of six vessels, of which, however, he only commanded one ship. After many disasters and the loss of one vessel of the squadron, he reached *Brazil*, with his own ship alone, at the celebrated bay of All Saints, *Bahia*. There he remained two months in the hope of being joined by the rest of the fleet. He then sailed two hundred and sixty leagues to the south, where he remained for five months, building a fort and taking in a cargo of brazil-wood. In the fort he left a garrison of twenty-four men and set sail for Lisbon, where he arrived in June 1504. The other four vessels of the squadron were never afterwards heard of.

1504. Early in the following year Amerigo Vespucci was at Seville on his way to the Spanish court in quest of employment, and was the bearer of a letter from Columbus to his son Diego, in which the great navigator, speaking of Vespucci, says, "Fortune has been adverse to him as to many others. His labours have not profited him as they reasonably should have done. . . . He goes with the determination to do all that is possible for me." It is pathetic to hear the great discoverer thus speaking of the man whose name was to usurp the place of Columbus on the two continents of the New World.

The cargo of brazil-wood which had been brought by Amerigo to Lisbon was so much esteemed that a trade in it at once sprang up, and the result was that the coast whence it was procured, and finally the whole neighbouring country, came to be called *Brazil*. The Portuguese Government determined to colonize the land, and accordingly despatched thither, in the first instance, a portion of the criminal population of Portugal.

Amerigo Vespucci being once more in the service of the king of Castile, in which he obtained the rank of chief pilot, which he held until his death, it was determined to take advantage of his previous discoveries, and in the year 1508 Pinzon and Solis proceeded on an expedition to Cape *St. Augustine* and thence southwards, taking possession of several points at which they landed, in the name of the king of Spain. As before this date the Pope Alexander VI. had assigned to the Castilian and Lusitanian crowns, respectively, the line beyond which their respective discoveries might in either case be taken possession of, the Portuguese king now complained that the proceedings of this last Spanish expedition on the coast of South America were an infringement of the grant which had been made to him by the Sovereign Pontiff. Notwithstanding this, the king of Castile in the year 1515 despatched Juan de Solis on another expedition to the south, in the hope of finding the means of communication with the ocean which more than a year before this time had been reached overland by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. This expedition resulted in the discovery of a stream to which Solis gave the name of the Sweet Sea; for the extent of its fresh waters forbade him to entertain the idea of its being a river. The Sweet Sea was named by a subsequent navigator the River of Silver, from the ornaments of that metal found amongst the people on the banks of the *Paraguay*, which flows into the *Paraná*, which with the *Uruguay* forms the *Plata*, and is now known to us as the *Plata* or the

River *Plata*. This discovery cost De Solis his life; for, having landed incautiously on the island of *Martin Garcia*, he was set upon by the natives and murdered.

And here it is necessary to mention the great navigator who should rank next to Columbus in South American discovery. Fernando Magalhaens (in Spanish Magallanes), better known as Magellan, was born in Oporto late in the fifteenth century. He entered the Portuguese navy at the usual early age, and served in India under Albuquerque. Fancying that his merits at *Malacca* had been overlooked, he retired from the service of Portugal, and made proposals for new discoveries to Cardinal Ximenes. He shared the view of Columbus that there must exist somewhere a western passage to the seas beyond America, which seas had been seen by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. Having held out the inducement of obtaining the *Moluccas* by sailing westward, inasmuch as by the compact between Spain and Portugal all countries discovered 180° west of the *Azores* were to belong to the former country, he obtained a fleet of five vessels, manned by two hundred and thirty-four persons, which sailed from Seville under his command on August

1519. 10th, 1519.

They steered for *Brazil*, and in the middle of the following December he entered the river *Plata*. Finding that it was not a strait, he sought his way southward, and took refuge in a harbour on the coast of *Patagonia* in the 49th degree of S. latitude, to which he gave the name of Port *San Julian*. During his stay here he had to repress a conspiracy amongst the four commanders of his squadron, who were Spaniards, and who resented his being placed over them. Of these, two were hanged, a third was stabbed, and the fourth was put on shore.

1520. It was not until August 1520 that Magellan, who had previously taken possession of Port *San Julian* in the name of the king of Spain, proceeded southward, and on October 21st he entered the strait which sepa-

rates *Patagonia* from *Terra del Fuego*, and which bears his name. On the 20th of November he cleared the strait with his squadron, which, by the desertion of one ship and the loss of another, was now reduced to three vessels. Emerging triumphantly on the vast expanse beyond,—having been the first navigator to sail to it from the Atlantic,—he had the right to bestow upon it the name of the *Pacific Ocean*.*

* NOTE.—“*Y esta fue la empresa de Fernando Magallanes, caballero portugues, cuya osadía y constancia grande en inquirir este secreto, y no menos feliz suceso en hallarle, con eterna memoria puso nombre al estrecho que con razon por su inventor se llama de Magallanes.*”

“*Historia natural y moral de las Indias,*” by José de Acosta, Lib. III., cap. 10. The dangers attending the passage of the Strait of Magellan caused the Isthmus of *Panamá* to be long preferred as a route to *Chili* and *Peru*. Its very existence came to be doubted. “*Las frecuentes desgracias que padecieron las expediciones al estrecho de Magallanes y los crecidos gastos que causaban, hicieron preferible á canimo tan largo y peligroso el tránsito y conduccion de las mercaderías por el ismo desde Nombre de Dios ó Portobelo hasta Panamá, fortificando el primer punto para asegurarlo de los ataques de los corsarios; y aunque despues de la expedicion de Juan Ladrillero, que salió del puerto de Valdivia en Noviembre de 1557, continuaron los vireyes del Perú y gobernadores de Chile empresas semejantes para reconocer el estrecho y facilitar su navegacion, ni aun memoria de ellas se ha conservado por haberse perdido algunos de los descubridores, y retrocedido otros sin conseguir el objeto que se propusieron. De aqui resultó el total abandono de aquella navegacion por mas de veinte años, llegando á olvidarse los anteriores viages al estrecho, hasta dudar de su existencia, cunsiendo la opinion de haberse cerrado por algun terremoto ú otro accidente del mar y de las tempestades.*”—NAVARRETE, Tomo IV., Prólogo, p. xiii.

Acosta writes previously to 1589: “*El estrecho, pues, que en la mar del sur halló Magallanes, creyeron algunos, ó que no lo habia, ó se habia ya cerrado, como D. Alonso de Arcila escribe en su Araucana; y hoy día hay quien diga que no hay tal estrecho, sino que son islas entre la mar, porque lo que es tierra firma se acaba allí, y el resto es todo islas, y al cabo de ellas se junta el un mar con el otro amplitísimamente, ó por mejor decirse es todo un mismo mar. Pero de cierto consta haber el estrecho y tierra larguíssima á la una banda y á la otra, aunque la que está la otra parte del estrecho al sur no se sabe hasta dónde llegne.*”

The authority of *Ercilla*, cited by *Acosta*, is the most respectable, says *Navarrete*, and the most trustworthy, that could be given, since he accompanied *Don Garcia de Mendoza* in 1558 in his expedition along the coast of *Chili* as far as *Chiloé*, and then passed with ten

The name which, next to that of De Solis, deserves to be remembered in connection with the discovery of *La Plata*, is that of Sebastian Cabot, the son of John Cabot, a Genoese navigator, who, being then in the service of Henry VII., was the first European that set foot on North-American soil. Sebastian Cabot is said to have been born in England, Bristol being assigned as his birthplace. In 1497 he coasted the shore from *Labrador* to *Florida*. In 1526, Cabot, then chief pilot to the king of Spain, accepted the command of a squadron of four vessels fitted out by the merchants of Seville. In April of that year he set sail with the view of reaching soldiers, after surmounting great difficulties, in a small boat, to the opposite coast, there writing his name on a tree.

The following is the inscription commemorating this incident :—

*“ Acqui llegó donde otro no ha llegado
Don Alonso de Ercilla, que el primero
En un pequeño barco desastrado,
Con solos diez, pasó el desaguadero
El año de cincuenta y ocho entrado
Sobre mil y quinientos, por hebrero,
A las dos de la tarde el postrer día,
Volviendo á la dejada compañía.”*

“ Araucania,” canto xxxvi., oct. 29.

*“ Magallanes, Señor, fue el primer hombre
Que abriendo este canimo le dió nombre.*

*“ Por falta de pilotos, ó encubierta
Causa quizá importante, y no sabida
Esta secreta senda descubierta,
Quedó para nosotros escondida
Ora sea yerro de la altura cierta,
Ora que alguna isleta removida
Del tempestuosa mar y viento airado
Encallando en la boca la ha cerrado.”*

“ Araucania,” canto i., octa. 8 y 9.

The expedition of Magellan was on his death brought to a glorious termination by Juan Sebastian de Elcano, with reference to whom Oviedo writes as follows :—

“ El cual, y los que con él vinieron me parece á mí que son de mas eterna memoria dignos que aquellos argonáutas que con Jason navegaron á la isla de Colcos en demanda del vellocino de oro.”

“ Hist. general de las Indias,” part 2, lib. 20, cap. 1.

China and Japan—then called Cathay and Cipango—by way of the straits discovered by Magellan in 1520; but, a mutiny breaking out in his command, he renounced his more ambitious enterprise and resolved to content himself with following up the discovery that had been made by the ill-fated De Solis.

Having entered the "Sweet Sea," Cabot proceeded until he reached an island which he named after *Gabriel*. There leaving his vessels, he explored from a boat the coast of the mainland. A safe anchorage was afforded on the northern shore, where he found one of the Spaniards who had landed with De Solis, and who had escaped the cannibals. Throwing up a small earthwork to protect a portion of his men, he proceeded to explore the upper portion of the river. When he had reached the junction of the *Paraná* and the *Uruguay* he sent one of his officers with a vessel up the latter stream, whilst he himself ascended the former until he reached the *Carcaraña* or *Tercero*, where he erected a small fort called *San Espiritu*, leaving in it a garrison of seventy men. Still pursuing his course, he duly reached, after having surmounted countless difficulties, the junction of the *Paraná* with the *Paraguay*, nearly nine hundred miles from the sea. Having explored the *Paraná* a hundred and fifty miles further, he then returned to the junction and ascended the latter stream, and whilst there he received unexpectedly a welcome reinforcement from Spain. Cabot passed the following two years in friendly relations with the *Guaranís*, in whose silver ornaments originated the name of *La Plata* and thence of the *Argentine* Republic, the name having been applied by Cabot to the stream now called the *Paraguay*. That able and sagacious man now sent to Spain two of his most trusted followers with an account of *Paraguay* and its resources, and to seek the authority and reinforcements requisite for their acquisition. Their request was favourably received, but so tardily acted on that in despair the distinguished navi-

gator quitted the region of his discoveries after a delay of five years.

The two earliest explorers of the *Plata* had been professional navigators; the commander of the third great expedition to that region was a courtier and a wealthy knight. *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, no doubt attracted by the name of the Silver Stream, undertook to plant the Spanish race on its shores on the following conditions, namely: That the region extending from the *Plate* to the Straits of *Magelhães*, a barren territory, ^{1534.} was to be under his government; that he should pursue his way by peaceful or by warlike means across the continent until he should reach the ocean; that he was to be entitled *Adelantado*, and to receive a salary of four thousand ducats; that he was to be perpetual *Alcalde* of one of three forts which he was to establish; that to his heirs should be reserved the post of first *Alguazil* of the town where he should fix his residence; and that, should he capture another Montezuma or Atahualpa, he and his soldiers should receive two-thirds of the royal ransom. As a commentary on these ambitious views, *Mendoza* likewise took with him eight priests to teach and spread the unselfish doctrines of Christianity. His force consisted of some two thousand men with one hundred horses. Touching on his way at *Rio de Janeiro*, he thence proceeded along the coast and up the river *Plata* to the distance of one hundred miles. The flat southern shore was then in the possession of the *Quirandis*, a tribe which has long since disappeared before civilization. The green plains, unclothed by woods and unbroken by hills, displayed no natural feature from which the knight might derive a name for his town; but as the climate seemed of the best, he resolved to call it *Buenos Ayres*.

^{1534.} For some time the tribesmen supplied the invaders with food; but, with the fickleness of barbarians, they one day sent back their messengers mauled and empty-handed. This was a *casus belli*. The brother of *Mendoza*

marched against the natives with three hundred foot-soldiers and thirty horsemen. Heretofore Spanish cavalry had, in their encounters with American aborigines, invariably been successful. The mailed warriors of Cortez or Pizarro had turned the scale of victory on many a day ; but the cavaliers who charged with Diego Mendoza were met with a weapon now used for the first time against the horse and his rider. *Bolas*, or balls of stone, attached to each other, three together, by strips of hide, were hurled at the advancing centaur, which, entangled and stopped, came headlong to the earth. *Don Diego* and some horsemen were killed, and twenty footmen met their death in covering the retreat of their mounted comrades. The discipline of the infantry, however, enabled them to remain masters of the field.

After this encounter famine seemed to stare the followers of Mendoza in the face, and an expedition sent up the river in search of food was everywhere met with hostility. Mendoza now determined to proceed up the stream, and on an island he found an interpreter in one of the followers of Cabot. *Buenos Ayres* was meanwhile partly relieved by the return of an expedition that had been sent to procure provisions from the coast of *Brazil*. This was the extent to which the bright visions of Mendoza were destined to be realized. Tortured in body and broken in spirit, the knight left the scene of his misfortunes. On his homeward voyage he was still pursued by hunger, and his reason gave way before death came to his relief.

Mendoza had resigned his powers to his lieutenant, *Ayolas*, who ascended the *Paraná* and reached the *Paraguay*, there losing one of his ships. Those whom it had conveyed proceeded by land, and encountered a tribe in some respects civilized. The *Carios* possessed maize and the sweet potato, and in their farms were found ostriches, sheep, and pigs. Their capital was surrounded by stakes. The tribesmen offered the invaders provisions on condition of their departing. This not being accepted, a fight ensued,

and the natives fled. Ayolas then founded a city, in which he took to himself, as we are told, seven wives, permitting two to each of his followers. The city was called *Asuncion*.

After the delay of some months in his new settlement, Ayolas determined to find his way in the direction of *Peru*; and taking with him a sufficient party, he left one of his officers, Irala, with fifty Spaniards, at *Candelaria* on the *Paraguay*, as a supporting party in case of his retreat. The succeeding months were occupied by him in wanderings in the primeval forest, where he received from a tribe the glad tidings of the presence of gold and silver in the adjacent regions. Ayolas and his party were, however, compelled to find their way back, when they were doomed to disappointment in not meeting Irala, who, despairing of their return, after waiting six months, had returned to *Asuncion*. Ayolas and his people were soon after murdered by the tribe of *Payaguas*. Irala meanwhile, having repaired his vessels, returned to *Candelaria* and made fresh, but of course fruitless efforts to discover Ayolas, whose death, when he had ascertained it, he cruelly avenged on some *Payaguas*.

Learning the tale of treasure to be found in the interior, Irala now bent his attention to discover it. At *Buenos Ayres* wealth could only be the reward of industry, and therefore the settlement founded by *Mendoza* was abandoned, and the whole Spanish colony flocked up the river to *Asuncion*. They mustered six hundred souls, and *Asuncion* thus became the earliest founded permanent city in the region of *La Plata*.

It being believed in Spain, before the fact was ascertained, that Ayolas was dead, the post of *Adelantado* of *La Plata* was conferred upon *Don Alvar Cabeza de Vaca*, who had passed ten years as a prisoner amongst the natives of *Florida*. *Cabeza de Vaca* sailed from Spain with four hundred followers in the year 1540, and by the following March had disembarked at *Santa Catalina*,

an island on the coast of *Brazil*, opposite *Paraguay*, where confirmation reached him of the death of Ayolas. He thereupon boldly proceeded from a point of the shore near to *Santa Catalina*, making direct by land for *Asuncion*. He took with him two hundred and fifty men with twenty-six horses, sending the remainder by water to *Buenos Ayres*. During nineteen days Cabeza marched through woods ere reaching a settlement of *Guaranís*, from whom he was enabled to obtain abundance of food for his men.

Whilst resting with these friendly people, the explorer had the good fortune to fall in with a native on his way from *Asuncion* to *Brazil*, and who undertook to retrace his steps and guide him to his seat of government. Leaving a region where a certain degree of civilisation existed—where maize and mandioc were cultivated, and where men lived in houses and reared fowls and ducks—the Spanish leader had once more to trust himself and his men to the toils and risks of a march through the primeval forest, through which, after having surmounted innumerable difficulties, they at length approached their destination. In the course of one day they had to construct as many as eighteen bridges for the passage of their horses. This march had mainly lain along the course of the river *Yguazú*, a tributary of the *Paraná*, which takes its rise near the Atlantic Ocean. In order to avoid a tribe which was reported to be hostile, Cabeza de Vaca embarked with part of his force on canoes, intending to proceed thus to the *Paraná*, whilst the rest of his men should march along the river's bank to the point of junction of the two streams. But there was an obstacle in his way which prevented the execution of this scheme. The *Yguazú*, which stream is about one mile in breadth, while it flows through the Brazilian forest, suddenly becomes contracted, at a short distance above its junction with the *Paraná*, to the breadth of rather less than a thousand yards. It then breaks into

several channels and rushes over a series of descents, the highest of which is one hundred and seventy-two feet. Of this cataract—which, though little visited, is perhaps the grandest in South America—the vicinity is made known by the roar of waters and by the rising of a mist which overspreads the falls to a height of more than one hundred feet.

The Indians through whose settlements Cabeza had passed, though they had appeared friendly, had permitted him to embark on the *Yguazú* above the falls, without giving him warning of the danger that lay before him. The canoes that had been lent to the explorer were hurled with fearful rapidity along the face of the stream, and the rate of their passage became increased as they approached the scene of danger; but the distant sound of the falling waters warned Cabeza to steer for the bank, along which, for the distance of half a league, his followers carried their canoes, re-embarking below the falls, and then proceeding, without interruption, to the point of junction of the *Yguazú* with the *Paraná*.

Cabeza de Vaca was fortunate enough to disarm any hostile intentions which may have been harboured against him by a body of *Guaranís* that lined the further bank of the great river. They even helped him to effect his passage across the stream into what is now the territory of *Paraguay*. Sending down to the care of a friendly Indian chief, and with a guard of fifty soldiers, such of his men as would be unable to bear the fatigue of the march to *Asuncion*, the Spanish leader proceeded on his way by land; and, after further experience of the difficulties of travelling over so densely wooded a district, he at length, on the 11th of March, had the satisfaction of reaching the settlement of his fellow-countrymen.

1542. After the departure from the *Paraná* of Cabeza de Vaca, those of his men from whom he had separated were doomed to experience the invariable inconstancy of savages. The fear of chastisement and the hope of

receiving presents being alike removed, the *Guaranís* attempted by every means in their power to cut off the sick men and their guard; but by the aid of the friendly Indian chief to whose care they had been entrusted, they were enabled to continue their course in safety, and, having descended the *Paraná* to the *Tres Bocas*, or three mouths of the *Paraguay*, they ascended the latter river, and reached *Asuncion* one month after their leader.

At the time when this exploration by land of the region between the Atlantic Ocean and the river *Paraguay* was being so successfully carried out under the leadership of Cabeza de Vaca, another expedition, of still greater geographical importance, was being effected elsewhere on the same Continent; but before describing the discovery of the *Amazons*, it is necessary to go back to the circumstances of which it was one of the results. In reconnoitering the course of exploration over a vast continent, it is impossible to relate the events of each year in the exact order in which they occurred. One must take the discovery of one region after another, going back when necessary to recount other explorations elsewhere which may have meanwhile occurred simultaneously with those already described. It may therefore be desirable here to follow the proceedings of Cabeza de Vaca in *Paraguay*. His first care was to send down vessels to *Buenos Ayres* to the relief of that portion of his force which had been despatched by sea from *Santa Catalina* to the latter place. It was obviously of the first advantage to the public interest that the settlement of *Buenos Ayres* should be re-established. Without some port near the sea the settlers in the interior would ever be at a loss for the means of communication with Spain. The vessels from *Santa Catalina* had reached *Buenos Ayres* long before the arrival of those sent from *Asuncion*, and during the interval the Spaniards brought by the former had nearly perished from hunger. The force from *Paraguay* arrived in time to enable them to resist a formid-

able attack from the natives. They attempted to fulfil the governor's orders to rebuild the town; but they were at length discouraged by the incessant rain, and abandoning the attempt, embarked for *Asuncion*.

Cabeza de Vaca had taken into his alliance the *Guaranís*, and with them he proceeded to attack another tribe, the *Guaycurús*, on the opposite side of the river. These were, as might be expected, disconcerted at the sight of his armed horses and riders, and readily consented to be his allies. With their aid he prepared to follow the course of exploration towards *Peru*; and whilst vessels were being constructed for river navigation, he sent Irala forward with an expedition by land. Soon following in person and passing a settlement on the *Paraguay*, called *Puerto de los Reyes*, which had been founded by Irala, he penetrated into the interior; but from the want of provisions he had to return to *Paraguay*. There he and his people suffered to the full the hardships incident to the life of explorers. Whilst they were reduced by hunger, prostrated by fever, and tormented by mosquitoes, they were attacked by formidable bands of natives, having defeated whom, the *Adelantado* was glad to turn his face again towards *Asuncion*. On his arrival, however, fresh troubles awaited him. During his absence a conspiracy had been hatched. His person was seized and his authority usurped, Irala being proclaimed governor in his stead. After a captivity of eleven months Cabeza de Vaca was sent a prisoner to Spain, in company with two official persons who were to prefer groundless charges against him; yet, notwithstanding his innocence and his services, he had, like Warren Hastings at a later period, to await during eight years a sentence of acquittal.

The downfall of Cabeza de Vaca did not inaugurate a reign of peace at *Asuncion*. Irala had been called to power by popular election, but his authority was curtailed by the pretensions of certain official persons who

were nominated to their positions from Castile. Disputes and dissensions arose; but after a time these became silenced in the face of a combination against the Spaniards by two native tribes, the task of chastising whom was confided to Irala. The chosen leader of the colonists showed himself equal to the occasion. He successfully defended the colony, which he employed the following two years in consolidating. But a long period devoted to peaceful pursuits was not to the taste of a man cast in the mould of Vasco Nuñez or of Cortez. Setting out with three hundred and fifty Spaniards and two thousand auxiliaries, he ascended the *Paraguay* as far as to *San Fernando*. There the main body of the expedition left the course of the stream, their boats being entrusted to the care of some Spaniards. Irala was well fitted to be the leader of such an expedition of discovery. Active and experienced, he was likewise cautious, and was never found unprepared on an emergency. Having journeyed onwards for a month or more, his ears were at length greeted by the sound of the Spanish language from Peruvian lips. Such was the first communication which took place between the Spaniards proceeding from *La Plata* and those who proceeded from the Pacific Ocean.

Irala, in conformity with the orders of the President Gasca of *Peru*, retraced his steps to *Asuncion*. There he distributed to his followers *repartimientos*, or consignments of land and slaves—a measure which greatly added to his popularity. He likewise founded a new settlement named *Ciudad Real*, near the border line of the Spanish and Portuguese territories. In the year 1547 *Asuncion* became the seat of a bishop, and about the same time an important intermediate station between *Paraguay* and *Peru* was established at *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, whilst Spanish civilization also began to extend downwards from *Paraguay* in the direction of the sea.

The favourable reports which had reached Spain of the climate and capabilities of *Paraguay* were such as to

divert thither many emigrants who would otherwise have turned their faces towards *Mexico* or *Peru*. It was the constant endeavour of Irala to level the distinctions which separated the Spaniards from the natives and to encourage inter-marriages between them. This policy, in the course of time, led to a marked result,—namely, to that singular combination of outward civilisation and of primitive simplicity which was to be found in the modern Paraguayan race until it was annihilated under the younger Lopez. “It was,” to quote Mr. Washburn, who lived eight years amongst them, “an anomalous people, and the like had never been seen in any other country of America. The reason of this may be found in the fact that in no other colony did the early colonists in large numbers adopt the native language and take the Indian women as wives.”

Irala, in fact, created a nation. The colony under his administration became numerous and wealthy. From his first arrival in the New World until his death, his career was one of activity, toil, and adventure, always in the conscientious discharge of his duty to his sovereign and to those around him. He was the life and soul of the colony, and his death, which occurred in 1557 at the village of *Ita* near *Asuncion*, when he had attained the age of seventy years, was lamented alike by Spaniards and *Guaranis*. In the estimation of Mr. Washburn, he was the first and last great man ever known to *La Plata*.

From this date Paraguayan history is for a long period destitute of all marked events save one. It consists, indeed, mainly of the establishment and progress of the Order of Jesus in that country. An account of the origin and advance of this remarkable movement must be deferred to a future chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

DISCOVERY OF PERU.

1521-1528.

UNDER the pressure of the immense excitement which resulted from the discoveries of Columbus, the entire eastern coast of the American continent, from *Labrador* in the north to *Terra del Fuego* in the south, was explored within about thirty years from A.D. 1492. In the year 1520, the Portuguese mariner Magelhães, or Magellan, sailing under the Spanish flag, found, as has been said, a westerly way through the Straits which bear his name. The first distinct notice of the existence of *Peru* was given, it will be remembered, to Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Southern Sea, about the year 1511. The efforts of that distinguished explorer to penetrate to the Peruvian Coast were doomed to disappointment; but the idea of reaching the land of gold was not lost sight of by his successors. *Darien* being found unsuitable as a spot from which to prosecute expeditions on the *Pacific*, the capital of Central America was in the year 1518 transferred to *Panamá*, the governor being still Pedrarias; but several years elapsed before serious efforts of discovery were made in a southern direction, though meanwhile communication had been established through Central America with *Mexico*. It was not till 1522 that a regular expedition was despatched from *Panamá* to the South, and its leader penetrated no further than had Balboa. But in 1524 three men were found in the colony whose respective

characters pointed them out as being conjointly fitted to undertake a discovery and conquest no less dazzling and wonderful than that which had been effected by Cortez. These were Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and Hernan de Luque, the Vicar of *Panamá*, who was, however, but the commissioner of the Licentiate Espinosa, who supplied the funds.

The celebrated Pizarro was a native of Truxillo in Estremadura, and at the time of setting out for the discovery of *Peru* was rather over fifty years of age. In his youth he had not been taught either to read or to write, but his fancy was captivated by the strange tales to which he listened of the New World beyond the sea. Embarking with other adventurers from Seville, he found his way to *Hispaniola* and later to *Darien*, from which place he accompanied Balboa in the march across the mountains which resulted in the discovery of the Southern Ocean. He later removed, with the seat of government, from *Darien* to *Panamá*, and was conspicuous in the conquest of the tribes to the north. Of Pizarro's confederates, Almagro was, like himself, an illiterate soldier of fortune and of a similar time of life, whilst Luque supplied the greater proportion of the brains and of the funds requisite for their joint enterprise.

To Almagro's lot it fell to make the preparations for the voyage. Two small vessels were fitted out at *Panamá*, the first of which set sail from that port with about a hundred men on board, under the command of Pizarro, in November 1524: Almagro was to follow in the second. Pizarro, after touching at the *Isle of Pearls*, steered his way across the Gulf of *San Miguel*, and, doubling the port of *Pinas*, entered the river *Biru*, of which word the modern name of that part of the world is believed to be a corruption. Sailing up this stream for two leagues, Pizarro caused his small force to disembark, and proceeded to explore the country. It was the rainy season, and the ground was a vast swamp, fringed

with a tangled undergrowth of wood, behind which lay a hilly country, rough and rocky. The heat was at times oppressive. Under these discouraging circumstances, his men being famished and weary, Pizarro returned to his vessel, which, having dropped down the river to the ocean, proceeded on its southern course. At a few leagues' distance he again landed to take in wood and water, after which he once more proceeded southwards. He now encountered a terrific tropical storm, and for ten days it required all the efforts of the crew to prevent the ship from foundering. They suffered likewise from an extreme dearth of food and water, and were not sorry to retrace their course and regain the port where they had last landed.

The same discouraging aspect of the country which had met them on the *Biru*, they now encountered here. In their hungry and miserable condition the beauties of the tangled thicket, with its network of creepers and flowering vines, were thrown away upon their eyes; they were alive to nothing but the incessant rain, the intolerable mud, and the unbroken solitude.

The spirit of Pizarro, however, was unsubdued. At the demand of his followers he consented to send back the vessel to the Isle of Pearls to lay in a fresh stock of provisions, but with the condition that he himself should meanwhile explore the adjacent country. No trace of a human dwelling, however, rewarded his search, whilst the only source of nourishment to his people was in the shell-fish they might pick up on the shore, or such berries and herbs as might be found in the woods. He was indefatigable in attending to the wants of his men, or endeavouring to alleviate their sufferings; more than twenty of them, however, died during the weary weeks succeeding the vessel's departure.

In this miserable situation Pizarro was one day cheered by the unexpected announcement of a light seen in the neighbouring wood. Taking with him a party of his

men, he forthwith followed its direction, and, after extricating himself from a maize of bushes, he came upon a native village, the inhabitants of which, scared at the unexpected apparition, forthwith fled. They left the provisions in their huts to the Spaniards, to whom the supply was a reprieve from death. The articles of food were maize and cocoa-nuts.

As no violence was offered to the natives, these soon returned and entered into intercourse with the strangers, whose eyes were now made glad by the golden ornaments which the Peruvians wore. Pizarro thus received a confirmation of the old reports of the existence of a land of gold to the south, and he now learned that over it a monarch ruled who dwelt at a distance of ten days' journey beyond the mountains.

After six weeks from its departure the vessel returned, bringing with it an ample and welcome supply of provisions. It had been detained by stormy weather and adverse winds.

Hope and nourishment now combined to bring back to the Spaniards their eagerness for discovery; and Pizarro, re-embarking on board his vessel, left a scene to which he had given the name of the *Port of Famine*, and again sailed towards the south. Unguided by charts or pilots, he found his way slowly along the unknown coast, landing at every convenient point. In an open bay he disembarked some men, and at a short distance inland fell in with a native village, whose inhabitants at the approach of the strangers fled towards their hills. In their huts the Spaniards found both a provision of food and some ornaments of gold. They were, however, horrified by the discovery that they were in a country inhabited by cannibals. Again embarking, Pizarro and his men still held their way southwards till they reached a headland which he named *Punta Quemada*, and where he gave orders to anchor, and landed with the greater portion of his force.

Having proceeded about a league into the interior, he found, as he had expected, a native town of some size, and which was capable of defence; but the inhabitants as usual fled, leaving behind them their provisions and ornaments. Pizarro now judged it necessary to send back his vessel to be repaired at *Panamá*, and meanwhile he established his quarters in this Indian settlement, despatching a party to reconnoitre the country.

Now occurred the first collision between the natives and the invaders. The former saw their opportunity of attacking the reconnoitering party whilst divided from the main body. The Spaniards, taken by surprise, were at first thrown into disorder and lost three killed and several wounded; but having rallied, they returned the discharge of arrows from their cross-bows and then charged sword in hand, driving the natives before them.

The Peruvians, being of course acquainted with the country, made their way to Pizarro's position, which they reached before his lieutenant could return, and commenced an assault upon him. But the conditions of combat were unfairly balanced. The naked and painted Peruvians, however brave, could make but a slight impression on the wary Spaniards, clad in armour and commanded by a practised soldier. Pizarro sallied forth with his men, and the natives for a time fell back before him. Returning to the charge, and singling out Pizarro, they inflicted on him seven wounds, and compelled him to retreat. He was, however, rescued from defeat by the opportune arrival of his lieutenant, who, attacking the natives from the rear, threw them into confusion, and forced them to abandon the ground to their opponents, who had lost two killed besides having many wounded.

Under these circumstances it was necessary to reconsider the intention of sending back the vessel, and on the whole it was deemed better that all should return in it to *Panamá*, near which place Pizarro was set on shore

with the greater portion of his men, whilst his treasurer proceeded to lay before the governor his report, together with the gold which had been collected.

During this first expedition of Pizarro, his associate, Almagro, having at length equipped their second vessel, had set out to follow his leader with a body of some seventy adventurers. Tracing his way by the trees which had been notched as landmarks, he in time arrived at *Quemada*, where, like Pizarro, he met with hostility from the natives. Almagro, landing, carried the place sword in hand, and, setting fire to the dwellings, drove the natives into the forest. He then pursued his voyage and touched at several points, where, though he was rewarded by finding golden ornaments, he no longer discovered any traces of the presence of Pizarro. In this uncertainty he too retraced his way to the Isthmus, and soon rejoined his friend, by whom he was deputed to pass over to *Panamá* and make arrangements with the governor for the further prosecution of their enterprise.

By the influence of Luque a new compact was now entered into for the conquest of *Peru*, the command of the expedition being vested jointly in Pizarro and Almagro on equal terms, a condition which deeply mortified the former and proved the seed of future trouble. The confederates lost no time in setting about their enterprise. A contract was entered into between them by which it was declared that, whereas the parties had full authority to discover and subdue the countries and provinces lying south of the Gulf, belonging to the Empire of *Peru*, and as Fernando de Luque had advanced the funds for the enterprise in bars of gold of the value of twenty thousand *pesos*, they mutually bind themselves to divide equally among them the whole of the conquered territory. The two captains solemnly engage to devote themselves exclusively to the present undertaking until it is accomplished; and in case of failure in their part of the covenant, they pledge themselves to reimburse

Luque for his advances, for which all the property they possess shall be held responsible, and this declaration is to be a sufficient warrant for the execution of judgment against them, in the same manner as if it had proceeded from the decree of a court of justice. The commanders, Pizarro and Almagro, made oath, in the name of God and the Holy Evangelists, sacredly to keep this covenant, swearing it on the missal, on which they traced with their own hands the sacred emblem of the Cross.* It may be noted that this compact, which was dated March 10, 1526, was signed by De Luque alone of the three contracting parties, the other two being represented by witnesses, as both were incapable of writing. This remarkable arrangement, by which a Christian priest and two adventurers settled the conditions on which they were to divide amongst themselves a vast empire with all its wealth, would not have been in accordance with the tone of the age had it not been invested with a religious character. It was drawn up in the name of the Holy Trinity and of the Virgin, and its observance was sworn to on the Cross, whilst on its conclusion the contracting parties severally received the Sacrament of the Communion.

These preliminary arrangements having been completed, two vessels were purchased and equipped; but there was some difficulty in procuring men. About one hundred and sixty adventurers were, however, mustered, and a few horses were purchased. Thus provided, Pizarro and Almagro again took their departure from *Panamá*. No longer hugging the coast, they stood out for the furthest point previously reached by Almagro, and arrived without accident at the river of *San Juan*, the banks of which were lined with native habitations. Pizarro here commenced his brigandage by surprising a village and carrying off some natives and many gold ornaments. After

* History of the Conquest of Peru; by William H. Prescott. Bentley, 1850.

this first success, it was decided that Almagro should return to the Isthmus, where the sight of the gold might tempt fresh recruits; whilst the pilot, taking the other vessel, should reconnoitre the coast to the south, Pizarro meanwhile remaining near the river.

The pilot Ruiz sailed southwards as far as to the bay now known by the name of *St. Matthew*, when he was struck by the singular apparition of a vessel of considerable size. As he drew near, it was found to be a raft of a number of huge timbers of light wood tightly lashed together, and with two masts sustaining a square sail of cotton, whilst it was steered by means of a rudely-formed rudder. It may be mentioned, in passing, that this simple form of craft is to be seen on the Peruvian coast at the present day. The pilot found both men and women on board, having on their persons articles of wrought silver and gold, their dresses being made of woollen cloth of fine texture and embroidered with coloured birds and flowers. From these unsuspecting natives he learned that in their fields fed flocks of the animals which yielded their wool, whilst gold and silver abounded in their country. Ruiz, not being less unscrupulous than his fellows, detained some of the natives to repeat and exemplify these wonders, and, by learning Spanish, to qualify themselves as interpreters. The barque having been allowed to proceed on its voyage, Ruiz advanced southwards, and was the first European who crossed the line on the *Pacific* Ocean. Having reached the *Punta de Pasado*, he retraced his way and rejoined Pizarro.

To return to that adventurer: On the departure of Ruiz and Almagro he had proceeded into the interior, where he had encountered nothing but difficulties. The forest was so dense as to be almost impenetrable, and hill rose above hill in ridges in succession, being bounded far in the distance by the barrier of the *Andes*. Under these difficulties many of the Spaniards perished, whilst

some were waylaid and cut off by the natives. On the top of all this came famine, and they had to sustain life on such roots or fruits as the forest afforded. It may be mentioned that in the records of this expedition we find the earliest mention of a vegetable which plays so important a part in our modern domestic economy, the potato; which has thus been known to Europeans since the year 1526, and the original European discoverers of which were Pizarro and his band. From this wretched condition in the forest or on the shore, the adventurers were relieved by the return of Ruiz, followed not long after by that of Almagro with a store of provisions and a reinforcement of recruits to the number of eighty.

Thus reinspired, the adventurers again re-embarked; but it was only after many dangers had been surmounted that they at length found refuge on the island of *Gallo*, which had been visited by Ruiz. Here they remained for a fortnight to repair their vessels, when they resumed their voyage and gained the bay of *St. Matthew*. As they proceeded along the coast they were struck by the evidences of civilization and by the inviting appearance of the country. Spaces of cultivated land were discovered bearing the maize and the potato.

At *Tacamez* the Spaniards saw a town which might contain two thousand houses, the men and women displaying on their persons the coveted ornaments of gold. The natives, however, showed no disposition quietly to yield up their possessions and treasures to the invaders; on the contrary, they displayed evident signs of hostility. Pizarro landed with some of his men, but, though peacefully disposed, could not prevent an encounter. The Spaniards were hotly pressed, and it is said that they owed their safe retreat to the consternation produced in the natives by the fall of one of the horsemen from his steed. The Peruvians, having never before seen the horse without his rider, were astonished at the separation of the two portions of the centaur, each of which

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remained alive in itself, and they retreated in dismay before the phenomenon.

In the face of the hostility which the Spaniards foresaw they would have to encounter, it was necessary to deliberate; and accordingly a council of war was called, at which conflicting opinions were expressed, Pizarro and Almagro taking opposite sides, and being with some difficulty prevented from drawing their swords upon each other. The dispute, however, ended in an arrangement, according to which Almagro was to proceed to *Panamá* for assistance, whilst Pizarro with a portion of his men should await his return on the island of *Gallo*, near the coast. The followers of the latter, however, strongly protested against this arrangement, and secretly communicated their discontent to the authorities at *Panamá*.

The return of the adventurers to that place caused great dismay. The governor not only sternly refused all further aid in the matter, but forthwith sent two vessels to bring back Pizarro and his followers from the island on which they were meanwhile experiencing the utmost misery. But the vessels which relieved his followers from hunger brought Pizarro letters from his two associates, imploring him not to give up the enterprise for lost. Strengthened by this expression of hope, Pizarro, the pilot Ruiz, and twelve others determined to abide where they were, and to await whatever fate might have in store for them. They needed all their fortitude. Having constructed a raft and removed to another neighbouring island, called *Gorgona*, where they could more easily defend themselves, they had to remain for seven weary months before the arrival of a vessel to their rescue. Although it brought no fresh recruits, its coming was nevertheless greeted with joy, and Pizarro and his men were soon again afloat, under the guidance of the pilot Ruiz. A tedious voyage of three weeks now awaited them before they arrived at the Gulf of *Guayaquil*. The coast was

here studded with towns and villages, above which towered *Chimborazo* and *Cotopaxi*. Guided by the two natives whom they had taken from the *Bolsa*, they now steered for the city of *Tumbez*, a place of considerable size. Communication was opened with the inhabitants by means of the interpreters on board, who were directed to assure their countrymen of the peaceful intentions of the strangers. Provisions were thereupon supplied them from *balsas* laden with bananas, Indian-corn, sweet potatoes, pine-apples, and cocoa-nuts, to which were added game, fish, and *llamas* or Peruvian sheep. One of the *balsas* likewise bore a Peruvian chief, who was naturally curious to know what had brought Pizarro and his followers to these shores. Pizarro, according to the Spanish historian, replied that he was the servant of the greatest of princes, and that he had come to this country to assert his master's lawful supremacy over it, and to impart to its inhabitants the light of the only true religion.

Here it may be well to remark, in passing, on the moral aspect of the expedition of which Pizarro was the chief, which cannot be justified if measured even in the scale of morality of the Greeks or of the Romans; for they, though not unduly tender towards the natural rights of those whom they styled barbarians, were at least careful to provide a *casus belli*. No such excuse can be urged for the conquest of *Peru*. That devoted country happened to lie within the boundaries assigned by Pope Alexander VI. to Spain; but it would be somewhat hard to charge upon the Church the guilt and infamy of the wholesale rapine and slaughter with which the Spanish conquest was attended. The Church was laudably desirous to extend the sphere of her influence; and if the end might be held to justify the means, she might no doubt congratulate herself in that vast regions where the name of Jesus had never been uttered were now about to be brought within her pale. As a Catholic, Pizarro may be excused for endeavouring to further schemes consecrated

by the head of the Church ; whilst as a loyal subject, he at the same time sought to extend the dominions of his sovereign. The responsibility for permitting and countenancing expeditions such as that of which he was the chief must rest with the Pope or Emperor, or with those who acted with their authority. Yet Pizarro was there neither to proselytize nor simply to conquer, far less was he fired, like Columbus, by zeal for the furtherance of science. His object in the main was to acquire gold ; and, however we may admire his perseverance and energy, the magnificent scale on which his spoliations were carried on should not make us regard him in any other light than in that of a freebooter.

It was inevitable that in the course of time South America should be explored as Africa is now being explored ; but the world is to be congratulated in that with the lapse of centuries the consideration of civilized peoples towards weaker races becomes somewhat greater, though there is still much room for improvement in this respect.

The Peruvian chief having been detained on board to dinner and having been courteously dismissed, Pizarro on the following day sent two of his men on shore with a present for the governor. They returned with so marvellous a tale, that Pizarro, somewhat distrusting it, next day sent on shore a person in whose statements he could have greater confidence, but who on his return only confirmed what had been told by the others respecting the marvels of *Tumbez*,—a city which, being the most important place on the borders of *Peru* proper, boasted a magnificent temple, with an establishment of the Virgins of the Sun.

On the receipt of this intelligence, Pizarro's feelings were of a twofold nature—rapture on being at length actually within sight of the golden spoils which he had gone through so much to obtain, and bitter regret that at such a moment his followers were not at hand to enable

him to seize them. Having no other course before him, he reluctantly quitted *Tumbez*,—a prey that must await a more convenient season. Sailing still further southwards he touched at various points, and was everywhere received with hospitality, until, having reached almost the ninth degree of southern latitude, and having ascertained indubitable proofs of the existence of a great empire, he yielded to the wishes of his followers and retraced his way to *Panamá*. It may be mentioned that, visiting *Tumbez* on his return voyage, he there left some of his companions as the guests of the natives, whilst he was permitted to carry away with him two or three Peruvians, who were destined to be interpreters.

On his arrival at *Panamá*, where he had long since been given up for lost, he was received with much joy, but even after the tale of his discovery had been repeated, the governor obstinately declined to lend any assistance towards the further prosecution of his enterprise. This was a trying blow to Pizarro and his two associates. There was now no help for it but to appeal directly to the crown. After some difficulty the necessary funds were raised, and, in the spring of 1528, Pizarro and one of his comrades, taking with them some natives of *Peru* and some products of that country, set out to tell their tale at the court of Castile. 1528.

NOTE.—It may be noticed as an instance of history repeating itself that at one of the places at which Pizarro touched on his return to *Panamá* he was entertained by a Peruvian lady of rank, to whom he stated his motives for visiting the country. He concluded by unfurling the flag of Castile, which he required his hostess and her attendants to raise in token of their allegiance to his sovereign, they being of course unaware of the nature of the act they were performing. Are we not reminded of the recent proceedings of M. de Brazza on the *Congo*?

CHAPTER VII.

CONQUEST OF PERU.

1529-1542.

PIZARRO, on his return to Spain, found the Emperor Charles V. at Toledo, and met with a gracious reception. The court listened with eagerness to his adventures by sea and land, and examined with interest the products of *Peru* which he had brought with him. His tales of the wealth which he had witnessed were the more readily believed in consequence of the experiences of another Spaniard whom he now met at court, the famous conqueror of *Mexico*. Yet affairs in Spain progressed with proverbial slowness, and it was not until the expiry of a year from the date of his arrival in the country, that the capitulation was signed defining the powers of Pizarro.

1529. By this agreement he was granted the right of discovery and conquest in *Peru*, or New Castile, with the titles of Captain-general of the province and *Adelantado*, or lieutenant-governor. He was likewise to enjoy a considerable salary, and to have the right to erect certain fortresses under his government, and, in short, to exercise the prerogatives of a viceroy. Almagro was merely appointed commander of the fortress of *Tumbez*, with the rank of *Hidalgo*; whilst Father Luque became bishop of the same place. Luque was likewise to be "protector of the Indians," with a yearly salary, which, like those of his associates, was to be derived from the revenues of the country to be conquered.

Pizarro, on his part, was bound to raise within six

months a force of two hundred and fifty men ; whilst the government on theirs engaged to furnish some assistance in the purchase of artillery and stores. Ruiz received the title of Grand Pilot of the Southern Ocean ; Pedro de Candia, who had accompanied Pizarro, was named chief of artillery ; and the other eleven companions who had remained with him on the desolate island were created *Hidalgos* or gentlemen. Liberal provisions were inserted in the agreement, to encourage emigration to *Peru*, and Pizarro was enjoined to observe the standing regulations for the good government and protection of the natives of America. "It is but justice to the Spanish Government," says Prescott, "to admit that its provisions were generally guided by a humane and considerate policy, which was as regularly frustrated by the cupidity of the colonist and the capricious cruelty of the conqueror." But what, it may be asked, is the justification of the Spanish government in undertaking or sanctioning the conquest of *Peru* at all ; in attacking an inoffensive people, and disposing of their country by anticipation ? Had the Peruvians been let alone, there would have been no occasion to provide for their protection ; and however desirable might be their conversion, to effect this by the sword might be sanctioned by the Koran, but certainly not by the New Testament.

It may be remarked that whilst Pizarro was required to carry out with him a specified number of ecclesiastics, he was at the same time strictly prohibited from permitting the presence of lawyers in the new settlements. On the whole, the terms of this arrangement did not tend to increased belief in the probity of Pizarro, who had strictly bound himself, whilst acting as their envoy, to proceed with perfect fairness in securing the interests of his associates ; but it is absurd to look in the records of a transaction, which was one of spoliation and knavery from beginning to end, for anything in the shape of probity.

This solemn engagement having been completed to the satisfaction of the new knight of Santiago, he found time to pay a flying visit to his native town, Truxillo, where he was awaited by four half-brothers, who were to play a prominent part in *Peru*; of these four, three were Pizarros, of whom one only, Hernando, who was his senior, was legitimate. The fourth was the illegitimate son of Francisco Pizarro's mother. Three of them were, like himself, to meet a violent death in *Peru*. He found no small difficulty in complying with the terms of the agreement within the specified time. He, however, contrived to start from Seville in January 1530, his brother Hernando following him to the *rendezvous* at *Gomera* in the Canaries; and in due time he reached the port of *Nombre de Dios*, where he was joined by Luque and Almagro. The latter of these was to no slight extent disappointed at the position which had been assigned to him. Pizarro excused himself as best he might, declaring that he had done what he could; that the government objected to divided authority; and that the country before them was large enough for both.

A new element had now entered into the confederation which had undertaken the conquest of *Peru*. Hernando Pizarro had everything to gain from the exclusive supremacy of his brother, and at the outset almost caused a rupture between him and Almagro. The latter indeed had gone so far as to enter into negotiations for the purchase of vessels, in order to prosecute the expedition without the aid of the Pizarros; but from this course he was dissuaded by the representations of Luque. This temporary reconciliation having been effected, no time was lost in preparing for the voyage. Three vessels were provided to replace those left on the opposite side of the Isthmus; a force was mustered of about one hundred and eighty men, with twenty-seven horses; and Pizarro, early in January 1531, sailed the third and last time for the coast of *Peru*. Previously to his departure, a sermon

had been preached to the little force by one of the Dominicans selected for the mission; mass was performed, and the Holy Communion was administered to each of the soldiers setting out on this crusade—a crusade inspired by zeal for riches rather than religion, and directed not against aggressive Saracens, but inoffensive Americans, whose only crime was to possess wealth.

Leaving his colleague Almagro to gather recruits, Pizarro steered for *Tumbes*. Contrary winds, however, compelled him to anchor in the Bay of *St. Matthew*, where he resolved to disembark his forces and advance along the coast. The march was not easy, for the streams were full and had to be crossed where they were widest. Pizarro's buoyant spirit, however, overcame every difficulty. At the first considerable hamlet the natives were taken by surprise, and much plunder, including many emeralds, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The gold and silver ornaments were deposited in a common heap; the royal fifth was deducted for the crown, and the rest was distributed among the officers and soldiers. This usage prevailed throughout the conquest, and any one infringing it incurred the penalty of death. Pizarro now sent back to *Panamá* the vessels which had accompanied him so far along the coast, and which took away a considerable quantity of gold, the sight of which might allure recruits.

During the remainder of the march to the bay of *Guayaquil* the Spaniards suffered sorely, as well from a fatal epidemic as from the intense heat of the sun. They had, however, no resistance to encounter from the natives, who, alarmed at their proceedings, fled to the forest on their approach. When he had reached the vicinity of *Tumbes*, Pizarro determined to halt for a time on the small island of *Puná*, where an arbitrary act of punishment on his part ere long involved him in a fierce struggle with the islanders. Here as elsewhere Spanish discipline prevailed against enormous odds; yet he was

not sorry to be relieved from his harassing situation by the arrival of two vessels bringing some horses and a hundred recruits, with which, in addition to his former force, he felt himself in sufficient strength to re-cross to the continent and resume his aggressive operations.

The inhabitants of *Tumbez* did not this time receive the Spaniards with their previous cordiality. On the contrary, one of the *balsas* bearing them was seized, and three persons were borne into the adjacent woods and massacred. Pizarro on entering the town was astonished to find it not only deserted, but almost entirely demolished. A few substantial buildings only—and these despoiled of their ornaments—remained to mark the site of the government of Almagro and of the bishopric of Luque! Pizarro, having despatched a small party in pursuit of the fugitives, was so fortunate as to get possession of the governor of the place, from whom he received the explanation that the dilapidated condition of the town was the result of a fierce contest with the inhabitants of *Puna*. He likewise learned that the two followers whom he had left on his former visit had perished. One of these, however, had bequeathed him a scroll, which Pizarro obtained from an unsuspecting native, and on which were written the words: "Know, whoever you may be that may chance to set foot in this country, that it contains more gold and silver than there is iron in Biscay." This intelligence, however, encouraging as it was, was not sufficient to restore the spirits of the soldiers, who had fully counted on the spoils of *Tumbez*.

Pizarro felt the pressing necessity of giving active employment to his soldiers, but at the same time he dreaded to advance further into the interior without complete information. He took a middle course. Leaving behind part of his men, he himself with the remainder reconnoitered the interior. In May a detachment under his own command kept advancing on the more level region, whilst a smaller body skirted the slopes of the

Andes under Hernando de Soto, a cavalier afterwards renowned as the discoverer of the Mississippi, and whose portrait is to be seen in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. The Spanish leader, being awakened to the necessity of not unnecessarily provoking the hostility of the natives, maintained strict discipline, and enjoined his men to abstain from all acts of violence. By lenient conduct he soon effaced the previous unfavourable impressions respecting him, and he was welcomed in the villages beneath the *Cordilleras*. Proclaiming everywhere that he came in the name of the Pope and of the king of Spain, the simple natives involuntarily saw themselves become subjects of the latter, as a preliminary to being members of the faith of which the former was the head.

After a month spent in exploration, Pizarro fixed on the valley of *Tangarala* as the site of his new settlement. This rich locality, traversed by streams navigable from the sea, was distant thirty leagues from *Tumbez*, and thither he ordered the men he had left there to repair. No sooner had they arrived than preparations were made for building the settlement. Timber and stone abounded, and ere long *San Miguel* could boast a church, a magazine, a hall of justice, and a fort. A municipal government was organized; the neighbouring lands were divided amongst the residents; and each colonist had a number of natives assigned to him as labourers,—this last measure being held to tend to their initiation in the true faith. Luque, “the protector of the Indians,” had been left behind at *Panamá*.

This important operation having been effected, Pizarro caused the gold and silver which he had robbed to be melted down. After a fifth had been deducted for the crown, the soldiers were persuaded to relinquish their share for the present, and it was sent back to *Panamá* to pay the shipowners and the outfitters of the expedition. The chief had meanwhile gained important information respecting the empire of *Peru*. That unhappy

land had recently been the subject of contest between two brothers, and the victor and his forces were now encamped at a distance of ten days' march from *San Miguel*. Pizarro judged that on the whole it was better to lead his men on active service rather than to allow their ardour to be damped whilst waiting for further reinforcements. This force was indeed a small one with which to attempt the conquest of a powerful empire. It consisted of about a hundred and seventy men, after deducting fifty for the defence of his settlement. But no one can accuse Pizarro of irresolution. He determined to strike directly at the *Inca*, and in September quitted *San Miguel* at the head of his available men.

The Peruvian empire was now resting after an internal struggle between the sons of Huayna Capac, the conqueror of *Quito*, and who had left the two kingdoms of his empire to his sons Huascar and Atahualpa. Five years later the brothers went to war with each other, and their two years' contest had but recently been decided in favour of the latter, who had now assumed the scarlet *borla* or diadem of the *Incas*. On leaving *San Miguel*, Pizarro and his band marched through primeval forests, broken here and there by barren shoots of the *Andes*. The country was as fertile as it was lovely, and was cultivated with no mean skill. Wherever the Spaniards came to, they were received by the natives with unsuspecting hospitality, which for their own sake they were careful not to abuse. In every considerable place a royal *caravanserai*, or resting-place for provisions, was found, in which the *Inca* was wont to lodge on his royal progresses. Halting on the fifth day, Pizarro found that his band numbered one hundred and seventy-seven, of which sixty-seven were horsemen. Of these, however, nine, being faint-hearted or lukewarm, were permitted to return to *San Miguel*. The rest volunteered to follow their captain whithersoever he might lead them.

Again resuming his march, Pizarro neared the *Andes*. De Soto was despatched in advance to reconnoitre, but on the eighth day he returned, accompanied by an envoy from the *Inca*. The Peruvian had brought with him some valuable gifts for Pizarro, whom Atahualpa welcomed to his country and invited to visit him at his camp. The march was now resumed, and the Spanish leader sent forward one of his Indians to the royal camp across the mountains with instructions to observe and report upon the route, and more particularly if the passes were guarded. After three days' further march the base of the *Andes* was reached, and Pizarro had now the final choice before him of proceeding to the south along a broad and level road to *Cuzco*, the southern capital, or of climbing the steep and narrow way across the *Cordilleras* to the camp of Atahualpa. As was to be expected from his daring character, he chose the latter.

The difficulties of the Spaniards' march over mountain paths which had been constructed for the passage of no animal of greater burden than the *llama*, may be easily imagined by those who may have travelled in Northern Turkey, Asia Minor, or Persia. To miss one's footing was in many places to ensure being dashed to pieces over the precipices beneath; and had their progress been opposed, Pizarro's little band must have been repulsed or annihilated, more especially as there were some strong works of stone commanding angles of the road. As it was, however, the Spaniards and their horses contrived to toil up the steep ascent and at length reached the crest of the *Cordillera*, where the cold was so great that the men were glad of the protection of tents and the warmth of fires. Here Pizarro was rejoined by one of the messengers whom he had sent forward, and who informed him that the road was unguarded, and that an embassy from the *Inca* was on its way to his camp. The Peruvian envoy renewed the greetings of his master, who again invited Pizarro and his companions to *Caxamalca*,

which place he reached on the evening of the 15th of
1532. November 1532.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, Pizarro forthwith despatched his brother Hernando, together with De Soto and a party of horsemen, to the *Inca's* camp. They were received with politeness, and Atahualpa deigned to promise a visit to the Spaniards on the morrow, upon which De Soto and his companions returned to give to their comrades such an account of the state and military strength of the Peruvian monarch as filled them with dismay. At this critical moment the master spirit of Pizarro asserted its supremacy. Matters had now arrived at such a pass that all must be staked on the hazard of the die. Going amongst his men, he exhorted them not to be downcast, since from their marvellous successes hitherto they were manifestly under the special protection of the heavenly powers, and hence the numbers against them mattered nothing. He then summoned a council of officers and unfolded to them for the first time his project, which was nothing more or less than to seize the *Inca*. What follows is so far beyond ordinary credulity that it would not be ventured on by a writer of fiction unless he were to suppose supernatural agency.

When the morning broke of Saturday the 16th of November, the Spaniards were called to arms by the trumpet's sound, and were acquainted by their leader with his daring plan, which was to be executed on that very day. They were then carefully stationed within the spacious buildings of *Caxamalca*, so as to be hidden from view until the signal should sound for their appearance. Everything, said Pizarro, depended on concert, coolness, and celerity. Nothing was overlooked by the indefatigable chief, even to the horses being furnished with bells, to add to the confusion of the Peruvians. Mass was of course performed, and the God of battles was impiously invoked in favour of the treacherous brigands. It was not, however, till late in the day that any movement was

visible in the Peruvian camp; and when Atahualpa and his troops at length neared *Caxamalca*, the *Inca* sent a message to Pizarro that in consequence of the lateness of the hour he would encamp on the open for the night and pay his visit on the following morning.

His message, as we may well believe, disturbed the Spanish leader to no slight extent; but he was a man of many resources, amongst which treachery was by no means the least conspicuous. His men had been under arms all day, and their powers might be tried too far. He therefore returned a message to the effect that he had prepared an entertainment for the *Inca* for that evening, and he trusted he might not be disappointed in his coming. Deceived by these smooth words, the unsuspecting monarch at once gave orders for a change of plan, and leaving his warriors on the plain, came on to *Caxamalca* with an unarmed guard, sending on in advance a messenger to Pizarro to excuse the simplicity of his visit.

Shortly before sunset the van of the royal procession reached *Caxamalca*, and as the leading files entered the great square, where not a Spaniard was to be seen, the Dominican, Valverde, afterwards bishop of *Cuzco*, came forward with a bible and a crucifix, and attempted to explain to the astonished Peruvian the intricate doctrine of the Trinity; ranging, as we are told, from the creation of man to the representative of the Prince of the Apostles. To what must have sounded to him, hearing it as he did for the first time under these strange circumstances, as incomprehensible, the *Inca* replied with disdain that his god, pointing to the sinking sun, lived in the heavens above them, upon which he threw the bible to the ground. This indignity to the sacred volume scandalized Valverde, who, picking it up and hastening to Pizarro, urged him no longer to delay in giving the appointed signal. Thereupon the chief waved his scarf; the signal-gun was fired; and the Spaniards, springing like tigers

from their lair, rushed upon their prey. Some thousands of unarmed Peruvians had entered with the *Inca*, but they were utterly powerless against the butchers who assailed them. The gates of the town had been closed on their entry; but by mere force of numbers they burst through the frail walls, and thus many of them escaped. A fierce struggle, however, raged round the golden litter of the *Inca*, whose person it was Pizarro's object to secure alive, and in effecting which he himself received the only wound of which the Spaniards could boast on that shameful day, the glory of which undoubtedly rests with the Peruvians. Some thousands of them fell—all or most unarmed—through their devotion to their monarch, whom as a captive Pizarro was enabled to entertain at the feast to which he had invited him.

Some thoughtless persons have instituted a parallel, founded on numbers alone, between the attack on the Peruvians by Pizarro's band and the defence of Thermopylæ against the Persians by the immortal three hundred. A more insulting comparison was never imagined. Leonidas and his band devoted themselves to the defence of their country, of freedom and civilization, and were sure to meet death from an overwhelming armed force. The Spaniards, on the other hand, can claim no more sympathy or respect than can a band of modern Greek brigands, who are alike entitled with them to the praise belonging to enterprise, temperance, patient endurance of severe hardship, and the most constant observance of religious duties. As to personal danger, the Spaniards engaged in the slaughter of the unarmed Peruvians attending the capture of the *Inca* incurred no more risk than does the butcher amongst so many sheep.

It must be confessed, however, that, its moral aspect apart, the seizure of Atahualpa was a master-stroke of policy. Such was the sacredness in which his person was regarded, that with his capture the whole activity of his government collapsed. Holding this hostage, the Spaniards

were omnipotent; for the slightest attempt at a rising or rescue would have at once cost the *Inca* his life. Whilst the prisoner of the Spaniards, he held his court in captivity, and was treated by the highest lords and officers of his realm with the ceremonious deference which formed part of the innermost being of all who owned his theocratic sway. But notwithstanding the respectful treatment which the *Inca* was permitted to enjoy, he could not but pine in his captivity, and his mind bent itself to the means of obtaining his freedom. He was the more anxious in this respect, as he feared his lately defeated elder brother Huascar would turn his confinement to account by bribing his jailers to place him at liberty and set him upon the Peruvian throne.

Under these circumstances, the captive *Inca* one day offered to Pizarro to purchase his liberation at the cost of filling the room in which he stood to his own height—the apartment was seventeen feet by twenty-two—in gold, and the adjoining smaller room twice full with silver, which offer was accepted, two months being given for the execution of the compact. The *Inca* had not deceived himself in his forebodings as to the conduct of Huascar, who indeed made overtures to the Spaniard, offering a still larger bribe than had his brother. He was, however, in the hands of the latter, who, on learning his proceedings through his creatures, gave orders that he should be put to death. Meanwhile the *Inca's* ransom was being collected, but ere it had reached *Caxamalca* the situation of affairs became materially changed by the unexpected arrival of Almagro with a reinforcement of about a hundred and seventy men. With these Pizarro now found himself in force to proceed to the south and complete the subjugation of the country. But the question presented itself, What was to be done with the *Inca*? To set him at liberty would manifestly be to restore cohesion to a government which had collapsed, and thus to undo what had already been effected. If, on the other hand, they

should detain him in captivity, the force requisite to guard so precious a hostage would seriously cripple the operations of the conquerors.

In this trying position the Spaniards were at no loss for an excuse for a line of conduct which might justify the measure on which their chief had resolved. In the face of their experience and of all probabilities, a general Peruvian rising was invented; and notwithstanding that the *Inca* had paid a ransom estimated as equivalent to three million and a half pounds sterling, he was put upon his trial on charges the most absurd, and respecting which, as the circumstances stated had occurred before their arrival, the Spaniards had in any case no pretence of jurisdiction. These, however, had involved themselves so deeply that they had scarcely a choice but to wade on through crime to crime. The *Inca* was condemned to death, and, to keep up the grim farce to the end, his sentence was finally commuted from being burnt alive to strangulation, on condition of his professing himself a Christian. The Dominican Valverde, who had consented to his execution, has the credit of this conversion.

The death of the *Inca* proved, as was to be expected, the signal for disorders throughout *Peru*. The late monarch had, indeed, by his own proceedings at the time of his victory over his brother, paved the way for such a result; for he had given orders to exterminate all members of the Imperial house. The Peruvian empire, with its civilization, which it had cost so much to build up, and which was perhaps equivalent to that of Japan, was now at an end. The provinces remote from *Cuzco* lost no time in shaking off their allegiance. Early in September, Pizarro and his followers, by this time amounting to about five hundred men, set out for the Peruvian capital, taking with them a younger brother of Atahualpa, whom they set up as the nominal *Inca*. Their march was a severe one; and at *Xauxa* they had to encounter the opposition of a numerous but impotent force. From this

moment their progress was disputed ; and it might have fared hardly with De Soto, who was sent on in advance, had he not, while encompassed by the Peruvians after a desperate engagement in the *Sierra*, received timely succour from Almagro. At *Xauza* Pizarro left a small garrison of forty men, who were to guard the treasure, which he did not think it prudent to take with him on the march.

An agreeable surprise now awaited Pizarro in the arrival of *Manco*, the brother of Huascar, and who was the rightful heir to the Peruvian crown. No event could have happened better suited to the Spanish interests. The prince's petition for protection was at once accorded, and he accompanied the invaders to *Cuzco*, which city was entered on the 15th of November. It had already been ^{1533.} to a considerable extent denuded of its treasures, which had gone to form part of the ransom of Atahualpa, but it still formed a prize well worth the grasping, containing as it did, together with its suburbs, some five-and-twenty thousand houses. *Cuzco* was a populous, well-built and well-regulated city, with houses of stone, wholly or in part, and with long, regular streets, crossing one another at right angles, and meeting in the great square, which through them communicated with the high-roads of the empire. Through the capital ran a river of pure water, the banks of which for twenty leagues were faced with stone, and which was crossed at intervals by bridges.

Here, as usual, almost the first care of the Spaniards, after their arrival, was to collect the treasure, which was computed to amount to about six hundred *pesos* of gold and two hundred and fifteen marks of silver. Pizarro's next object was to set up a civil government, and with this view the young *Inca* was crowned, with the formalities which would have been observed had he really been destined to power, whilst at the same time Spanish *alcaldes* and *regidores* were appointed, two of the latter being Pizarro's brothers. But all was not tranquil in *Peru*, and Almagro had soon to take the field to reduce one of the

two generals of the late *Inca*, who, when defeated by him on this occasion, retreated to *Quito*, where he defied the Spaniards until he was assassinated by his troops. Soon afterwards Pizarro had the good fortune to purchase from the governor of *Guatemala*, for the consideration of a hundred thousand gold pieces, a fleet of twelve vessels, great and small, with forces, stores and ammunition.

Peru was now, in all seeming, conquered, and the governor's next concern was to select a suitable situation for the future capital of this vast colony. After much consideration, he decided on a spot about six miles from the mouth of the river *Rimac*, almost in the latitude of *Cuzco*, and on which, with wonderful rapidity, arose the beautiful city of *Lima*. Pizarro was now somewhat advanced in years, and the development of the new city in its delightful situation formed the immediate interest of the remainder of his life, he throwing into this object the same vigour by which he had been ever distinguished in exploration or in war.

It will be remembered that Pizarro's elder brother, Hernando, had been despatched to Spain to announce the progress of his countrymen and the capture of the *Inca*. He was graciously received by the emperor, who manifested great interest as well in the fabrics and other products which he had brought with him as in the gold and silver, for which he had more immediate occasion. The adventurers who had returned with him had likewise such a tale to tell that he was at no loss for volunteers to return with him to *Peru*. He likewise brought back for his brother a patent for the rank of marquis, with the permission to extend his government seventy leagues to the south; and for Almagro the permission to discover and occupy the country for two hundred leagues still further, he himself having been named a knight of *St. Iago*. It so happened that no one could tell at this time the exact latitude of *Cuzco*, and consequently it was an open point whether it fell within the dominions

allotted to Pizarro or within the grant of Almagro, a point which was not long in producing civil war amongst the conquerors. This was, however, for a time deferred, and Almagro consented to set out for the conquest of *Chili*.

1535.

Notwithstanding occasional hostile encounters at different points, the success of the Spaniards had been so uniform that almost the last occurrence which they looked for was a general rising of the inhabitants of *Peru*. They were, consequently, correspondingly astonished when, the *Inca Manco* having made his escape from *Cuzco*, his subjects rose at his orders as one man to resist the Spanish yoke and, if possible, to exterminate the invaders. In all directions the Spaniards were assailed, and many of them, who, in full belief of their security, had settled upon isolated properties throughout the country, were without difficulty cut off by the natives. But their grand effort was directed to the reduction of *Cuzco*, where the Spaniards under Hernando Pizarro were besieged for months. Although the numbers of the latter did not exceed two hundred besides a thousand native auxiliaries, they had, in the course of the siege, to undergo the trials of famine; besides which they were to be deemed fortunate in that they were not enveloped in the flames to which the city was consigned by the stratagem of the besiegers. They were reduced to terrible straits, and being cut off from all communication from outside the walls, were alike without the hope of succour and the knowledge of a place of refuge. Pizarro indeed had sent no fewer than four expeditions to their assistance, but these had been either repulsed or annihilated.

From this desperate position they were at length relieved by the necessities of the besiegers. It was now the month of August—six months from the commencement of the siege,—and the *Inca Manco*, whose multitudinous host was already straitened for provisions, saw

that if his followers should not return to their fields at the sowing season, a famine would be the result. He accordingly gave orders that the greater part of his troops should return to their homes, to re-assemble when their agricultural labours were over. This measure, which was perhaps necessary for the Peruvians, was to the Spaniards a reprieve from death. With energy sharpened by apprehension and hunger, their foraging parties now scoured the neighbourhood for provisions, and, with the buoyancy naturally following such depression and long inaction, Hernando Pizarro was not slow in assuming the offensive. He even made a bold attempt, by a vigorous attack in the dead of night, to secure the *Inca's* person. This was defeated, and he was pursued by the Peruvians to before the walls of *Cuzco*; but with the necessity which compelled him to order his warriors to exchange their swords for the ploughshare, the *Inca* lost the latest hope which remained to his countrymen of expelling the Spanish invaders.

Almagro's march, undertaken with the object of taking possession of his future government of *Chili*, was of the most arduous that could be conceived. The cold which he and his men encountered in the passes of the *Andes* was intense, whilst the straits to which both Spaniards and their attendant Indians were reduced by hunger were so great that the former were glad of the carcasses of the horses which fell victims to the climate, whilst the latter were forced to feed on the bodies of their comrades who fell. The accounts, too, received from the exploring expedition which had been sent on in advance, held out no immediate prospect of plunder; so that under these circumstances it was not difficult for his advisers to persuade Almagro to retrace his way to *Cuzco*. With the remembrance of his recent passage through the mountain defiles, he this time determined to follow the coast; but he had avoided one set of difficulties to encounter another, perhaps as great, for his route

led across the great desert of *Atacama*. On reaching the town of *Arequipa*, Almagro learned for the first time the revolt of the Peruvians, and he was so fortunate, whilst on his way to *Cuzco*, as to inflict on the *Inca* a final defeat.

But before he could obtain possession of that city he had to encounter yet another foe. It was too important a prize to be yielded up without a struggle. Negotiations, it is true, took place between Almagro and the brothers of Pizarro who were in command; but in the end recourse was had to arms, with the result that the former remained master of the city of the *Incas*, whilst Hernando Pizarro and his brother were his prisoners.

These successes of Almagro did not fail to rouse the jealousy of Pizarro, but in the end mediation between them was listened to, and Hernando was liberated on a solemn agreement that there should be no more strife between them. Scarcely, however, had Hernando reached his brother's camp than they at once set on foot a hostile expedition against Almagro, of which Hernando Pizarro was to take command. Almagro was too weak to place himself at the head of his own troops, the command of whom he deputed to Orgoñez. A fierce engagement took place between them and those of his rival within sight of *Cuzco*. Pizarro was victorious, and after the battle, in which Orgoñez, after performing prodigies of valour, fell, Almagro himself became a prisoner. He had injured too deeply the pride of Hernando Pizarro to be forgiven; the same farce of a mock trial which had been played in the case of Atahualpa now took place upon Pizarro's confederate. The trial was a waste of time, as the sentence was a foregone conclusion, and the veteran Almagro had to submit to the same traitor's death which had been inflicted on the *Inca*. But he was not to be unavenged. His position had been too prominent to make it possible that the cir-

cumstances of his fate should escape inquiry, and Hernando Pizarro, who took an abrupt departure for Spain, where his riches might avail him, had to undergo an imprisonment of twenty years.

The civil war which had occurred in *Peru* drew the attention of the Spanish Government to that country, and a member of the Royal Audience of Valladolid was sent out in the capacity of a royal judge, holding certain co-ordinate powers with Pizarro, and with a warrant to assume the government in the case of his death. He reached *Peru* at the close of 1541. The affairs of the colony urgently demanded his presence, for the *Inca* Manco meanwhile kept up a desultory war from the fastnesses of the *Cordilleras*, from which the Spaniards found it impossible to dislodge him, whilst the natives throughout the country, seeing the Spaniards engaged in war amongst themselves, were more unsettled than ever. The governor now attempted to remedy this state of things by establishing provincial settlements. One of these sprang up at *Guamanga* and another in the mining district of *Charcas*, called the *Villa de la Plata*, whilst the city of *Arequipa* was founded by the sea. Pizarro continued to display his wonted energy as a governor, encouraging commerce with the colonies north of *Peru*, and facilitating measures for internal intercourse. Husbandry was stimulated by the importation of European grains, which he had the satisfaction to see thrive in a country whose soil and climate were so productive and varied. But the chief object of attention was the development of the mines, the produce of which very soon attracted European immigrants in numbers. Their arrival enabled Pizarro to send out two important expeditions in opposite directions—the one to *Chili* under *Valdivia*, the other under his brother *Gonzalo*, from his government of *Quito*, which region had been conquered by *Benalcazar*, towards the unknown country to the east. The latter expedition was destined to lead to

results which those who sent it out were far from foreseeing.

Gonzalo Pizarro proceeded on his mission with ardour, and in a short time mustered three hundred and fifty Spaniards and four thousand Indians, one hundred and fifty of the former being mounted. At the commencement few difficulties presented themselves, but they had no sooner become involved in the ranges of the *Andes* than dearth, hunger, intense cold, and hardships and incessant toil awaited them at every stage. As they descended the eastern slopes the cold of the mountains was exchanged for tropical heat and a deluge of tropical rains. Some months of this depressing labour brought them at length to the land of cinnamon-trees (*Canelas*), of which they were in search. The precious bark lay before them covering forests of trees; but in the absence of the means of transport it was useless. They were lured onwards by fabulous accounts of a land of gold before them; but the rumours proved illusive, and they found themselves at every step still further entangled in primeval forests of stupendous growth, the exuberance of the vegetation being such as to defy the imagination of any but those who have witnessed it. Their condition was now pitiable in the extreme. Their provisions and livestock were consumed, and they were reduced to feed upon the carcasses of the thousand dogs which they had brought with them, many of them destined for hunting the natives. When this source of food too was gone, they had to content themselves with such herbs and roots as the forest afforded.

If anything can mitigate the horror with which we look on the cruelties exercised by the Spanish conquerors of America, it is the fact that if they never spared others, they were equally unsparing of themselves. They shrank from no exposure, fatigue, or danger, and were as enterprising as they were remorseless.

Gonzalo Pizarro, setting out once more from a valley

where he had halted, came to a deep river, the *Napo*, which it was necessary for him to cross. Its narrowest breadth was twenty feet, and the banks were precipitous, and some two hundred fathoms in height. His men succeeded in laying a beam across, and in traversing this bridge of *Al Sirath*, one soldier fell into the hell beneath. The others proceeded, through marshes and by swamps and lakes, until their provisions were expended. On the river's banks they determined to construct a raft which might support the sick and convey the whole party from the one bank to the other as occasion might seem to render prudent. The bits and stirrups of the horses' harness supplied nails for the raft; the forest furnished gum in place of pitch, and the garments of the soldiers were used instead of oakum. The vessel thus constructed conveyed the sick and the stores, while the main body of the expedition followed on foot the course of the stream, through thickets, caves, plantations, and inundated fields. Gonzalo Pizarro would have belied his name had he not strewed his track with mementoes of his cruelty. Whether or not the chiefs of the tribes by which he passed received him well, their inevitable fate was to be carried along with him, although he observed a distinction between such as had given him a friendly welcome and such as had not, by placing only the latter in chains. But one day these *caciques*—the chained as well as the unchained—took the opportunity of leaping into the river, thinking the risk of death preferable to the tender mercies of a Pizarro. By this time more than one thousand Peruvians of the party had perished, and as by the native accounts they were not more than eighty leagues from the junction between the stream and a great river, Orellana was ordered to proceed in the vessel to the point of meeting, taking with him fifty men. In the course of three days Orellana reached the point where the *Coca* joins the *Napo*, where, finding no provisions, he urged upon his men the necessity of

proceeding down the river, leaving Pizarro to his fate. A youthful knight of Badajoz, whose chivalrous ideas revolted against this act of treachery, was left alone by the water's side, to subsist as best he might until the arrival of Pizarro.

On the last day of the year 1541 this voyage was 1541. commenced, and to such straits were the explorers reduced ere it ended, that they had recourse to boiling their leathern girdles and their shoes, to eat with the herbs upon which they had to subsist. At length the sound of a drum was heard, and four canoes were seen, when Orellana, landing his men, attacked the Indians with the impetuosity of wolves. The plunder of their property supplied the explorers for the present with food, and a further stock was obtained for the voyage. By means of an Indian language some verbal intercourse took place between Orellana and his hosts, and from this arose the name by which the river they were descending was destined to be ever afterwards known. Further down the stream—so the Indians said—there was a country inhabited by a tribe of female warriors. The Spaniards made themselves another boat and descended the river, passing by the mouths of numerous affluents and through the territories of many *caciques*. They landed at several places, and formally took possession of them for their monarch. They had at length to fight a battle, in which, it was affirmed, ten or twelve females took part. These women, of whom, according to the priest of the explorers, the Spaniards slew seven or eight, were tall and well formed; they were of fair complexion; they wore but a girdle; and they fought with desperation.

This voyage extended until the 26th of August 1542, 1542. when the triumphant Spaniards emerged at the mouth of the river, and courageously committed their frail barques to the currents and waves of the sea. Steering northwards, they desired to reach the island of *Cubagua*.

The newly discovered river was at first named after *Orellana*, but soon afterwards took its enduring name from the real or imaginary female warriors,—“*The Amazons*.”

To return to Gonzalo Pizarro: After in vain awaiting during several miserable weeks the return of *Orellana*, Gonzalo determined to set out on the same journey by land; but two months were expended in toiling through the forest ere they reached the spot of the junction of the *Napo* with the *Coca*, which distance had been accomplished by *Orellana* by water in three days. There they found Vargas, who had been set on shore, and from him they learned that they had been deserted by their comrades. Their situation was now indeed deplorable, but they did not give way to despair, and after a toilsome return march, which occupied more than a year, a portion of the wayworn band arrived again at *Quito*.
1542. Their absence had extended over two years and a half. Their horses were no more; their clothing was replaced by the skins of wild animals; and they themselves from civilized beings had become transformed into wild men of the woods, with wasted frames, blackened faces, and tangled locks. Of the four thousand Indians who had accompanied them, one-half of the number alone returned, whilst the three hundred and fifty Spaniards were now represented by eighty.

There is but one more event to be recorded in order to complete this sketch of the origin of Spanish *Peru*. Among men of such hot blood and of such lawless manners as were the conquerors, it was scarcely probable that the followers of *Almagro* would await tamely whatever retribution for his death might be exacted in Spain; and in order that *Almagro's* youthful son might be the more harmless, he was deprived by *Pizarro* in great part of his property, and likewise of the government of *Chili*. A conspiracy against the life of the marquis was the result, and the news of an appointment of a colleague with *Pizarro*

in the government gave confidence to his enemies. The arrival of this officer being delayed by severe weather, the conspirators resolved no longer to await for public justice, but to take the law into their own hands. A band of eighteen formed themselves into a committee for its execution. They attacked Pizarro in his palace, and, after a desperate defence on his part and on that of the friends who surrounded him, consigned him to the fate which formed the appropriate close of his stormy career.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHILI.

1535-1550.

THE authentic history of *Chili*, according to the *Abbé* Molina, does not go further back than to about the fifteenth century. The earliest accounts of the Chilians are contained in the Peruvian annals. The *Incas* had extended their empire from the equator to the tropic of Capricorn and thence to the desirable land of *Chili*, which extends for twelve hundred and sixty miles along the Pacific Ocean. The chain of the *Cordilleras*, which bounds it to the east, supplies it with an abundance of streams, moderating its climate and fertilizing its soil. At the time when the devastating presence of the Spaniards first appeared upon the land, the population is supposed to have been numerous. It had not been without severe fighting that the ascendancy of the Peruvians over this region was obtained; and, in like manner, the early Spaniards had to feel the force of the arm of the native tribes. *Chili*, indeed, had become divided into two parts; the one free, the other subject to Peruvian domination.

According to the author above quoted, the Chilians at the date of the Spaniards' arrival were by no means so rude in manners as is usually supposed. They had long since passed from the state of the hunter, which is that of the Patagonian of to-day, to the more advanced state of the shepherd. This second stage in civilization, too, they had surmounted, and were now a race of husband-

men; they had not attained to the more advanced condition of merchants. In a country where game was not abundant, and where domestic animals were likewise rare, the transition to the condition of cultivators of the soil was probably of necessity rapid. It will be remembered that when Hernando Pizarro proceeded to Spain after the capture of the *Inca* Atahualpa, the territory for two hundred leagues to the south of his brother's government had been assigned to Almagro, who had undertaken the march across the *Andes* to *Chili*.

When the difficulties of this terrible passage had been surmounted, Almagro and his men found themselves in a country supplied with abundance of provisions. The Chilians in fact, we are told, possessed maize, pulse of various kinds, the potato, the pumpkin, the pepper plant, the strawberry, and numerous other elements of vegetable food. Of animals they possessed the rabbit and the Araucanian camel, and, as tradition relates, the hog and the domestic fowl. The country may be assumed to have been well peopled, from the fact that one language prevailed throughout it, rather than the various dialects of several separate tribes. It possessed, in many parts, skilfully constructed aqueducts for watering the fields. Of these one remains in the vicinity of the capital, remarkable alike for its extent and solidity. The Chilians ate their grain cooked, either using earthen pots for the purpose of cooking it, or roasting it in hot sand. They likewise made of it two distinct kinds of meal,—the parched, which was used for gruel; and the raw, from which bread and cakes were baked in small holes formed like ovens. They made use of a kind of sieve, and they were so far civilized as to employ leaven. They were also in possession of several kinds of spirituous liquors derived from grain or berries.

The Chilians, having adopted a settled mode of life, collected themselves into families in the districts best adapted for agriculture, where they established themselves

in large villages. These settlements consisted of a number of huts irregularly distributed. In each village there was a chief called *Ulmen*, subject to the supreme ruler of the tribe. This dignity was hereditary, which argues a certain antiquity and likewise a peaceful rather than a warlike mode of living, since in the latter state military ascendancy is apt to overrule the hereditary principle. The right of private property was fully recognized. Each man was absolute proprietor of the field which he cultivated and of the product of his industry, which he could transmit to his children. The houses, which were quadrangular and roofed with rushes, were enclosed by walls of wood plastered with clay, and sometimes with walls of bricks, the art of making which they had acquired from *Peru*. From the wool of the camel they manufactured cloth for garments, using the distaff and spindle. They were familiar with the use of the needle, and were so far advanced in taste as to admire embroidery.

The clay of the country lent itself to arts of another description,—to the production of plates, cups, jars, &c., for varnishing which a certain mineral earth was employed. The Chilians likewise possessed vessels of hard wood and of marble. The earth yielded gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead. From their bell-metal they constructed axes, hatchets, and other edged tools; and they alone of all the races or nations of America possessed a word for iron, although it is to be added that no iron implements have as yet been discovered in *Chili*. The natives likewise were familiar with the art of extracting salt. They possessed dyes of all colours, not only from plants but likewise from minerals; whilst in lieu of soap they employed the bark of the *quillai*, and obtained oil from the seeds of the *madi*. From various vegetables they manufactured baskets and mats, and from others thread for ropes and fishing-nets. In fishing they employed baskets and hooks, and on the sea-coast used floats of wood or of inflated seal-skins.

Hunting was to them, as to us, an amusement. In this pursuit they employed the arrow, the sling, and the noose, together with snares of several kinds. It is a singular fact that two races, living so far apart as those inhabiting China and Chili, should have employed the same artifice for entrapping wild-fowl on the water, namely, for a man to glide amongst them, his head being concealed in a perforated gourd. They were familiar with the use of numbers, their language possessing the words signifying ten, a hundred, and a thousand respectively, and, like that of the Romans, stopping at that number. Their transactions were noted by skeins of thread of various colours, with a number of knots. They had not attained to the art of writing, although their language contains a word signifying to sketch or to paint. In the latter art, however, they were exceedingly primitive. But their chief progress was in the sciences of physic and astronomy. Such was the people who had been handed over by Charles V. to the tender mercies of Almagro and his followers, whose presence came on them and their promising civilization as the frost on the blossoms of spring.

The history of *Chili*, in so far as the connection of that country with Europe is concerned, begins at the close of the year 1535, when Almagro set out from *Peru* with a force composed of five hundred and seventy Spaniards and some fifteen thousand Peruvians, the latter being under the command of the brother of the *Inca* Manco. His march has been already briefly described in the preceding chapter. His army, after many conflicts with the natives, became entangled in the *Cordilleras* at the beginning of winter, being destitute of provisions and ill-supplied with clothing. The few mountain paths were obliterated by the snow. With their accustomed intrepidity, the Spaniards surmounted the perilous heights; but a hundred and fifty of their number, and, it is said, some ten thousand Peruvians,

perished from the cold. It is, indeed, computed that none would have escaped but for the energy of Almagro, who, pushing on with a few horsemen, sent back to his followers a timely supply of provisions, which he found in abundance at *Copiapo*. The survivors of his army reached the plains of that fertile province, where they were well received by the inhabitants.

The *Inca's* brother, Paullu, who seems to have had the Spaniards' interests at heart as being identical with his own, was the first to point out to them the importance of their conquest. He obliged the peasants to deliver up to him all the gold in their possession, by which means he collected a sum equivalent to 500,000 *ducats*, which he presented to Almagro. The Spanish leader, imagining he had another *Peru* before him, made over this sum to his followers. He was naturally of a generous disposition, and has been lauded for his action on this occasion;* but if we reflect on the source from which his *largesse* sprung, we are reminded of the old saying respecting generosity at the expense of others. As, in addition to the plunder with which he was already gorged, he had the prospect of ample riches before him, his conduct may be compared to that of the chief of a foreign force which we may imagine to be in possession of London, and who, having shared in the spoil of the Bank of England, should liberally make over the treasure at Messrs. Coutts' to his followers, with the intention of emptying the tills of Messrs. Drummond's and other banks into their own coffers.

At *Copiapo* Almagro imitated the conduct of Pizarro in *Peru* in assuming the office of umpire between contending native authorities. The reigning *Ulmén*, it appears, had usurped the government of his nephew. Shocked at this instance of high-handed conduct, the worthy Spanish freebooter caused the guilty chief to be arrested; and the natives were simple enough to impute

* See Ovalle.

the re-settlement of their hereditary ruler to a sense of abstract justice on the part of the heaven-sent newcomer. Almagro's followers soon recovered from their fatigues amongst the beautiful villages of *Copiapo*, and being strengthened by reinforcements brought up by Orgoñez, were soon in a condition to resume their march towards the south. Meanwhile an incident occurred which showed the confiding people that there were two sides to the character of the liberal and just Almagro.

Two soldiers having left the army had proceeded to *Goasco*, where they were at first well received by the inhabitants, but where they afterwards met their death, which they had in all probability provoked, if they had not richly deserved it. Their fate, however, showed the Chilians that the invaders were mortal, and therefore caused concern to the latter's chief. Almagro, on learning it, proceeded to *Coquimbo*, where he summoned before him the *Ulmen* of the district, as well as his brother and twenty of the principal inhabitants, and the ex-usurping *Ulmen* of *Copiapo*. It was no doubt right and reasonable on his part to institute an inquiry into the circumstances attending the death of his two soldiers, and no one could blame him for exacting due punishment on any persons who should be shown to have deserved it in the matter; but it would be hopeless to look for any considerations of justice in one so above all law as Almagro. The twenty-three innocent men, who had had nothing whatsoever to do with the soldiers' death, were one and all committed to the flames. Such was the Chilians' first experience of the gratitude of their Christian invaders for the hospitable reception they had met with. It is right to add that the greater part of his army openly disapproved of this savage proceeding on the part of their chief Almagro, who in his subsequent fate must be held to be beyond the pale of sympathy.

In 1537 Almagro received a further reinforcement under Juan de Rada, and he was at the same time urged

by letters from his friends in *Peru* to return to that country and to take possession of *Cuzco*. He, however, pursued his march and passed the river *Cachapoal*, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his Peruvian followers, who dreaded to enter the country of the warlike *Pro-maucians*. As usually happened, the aspect of the Spaniards, with their horses and firearms, struck terror into their opponents. These, however, recovering from their surprise, regained at the same time their wonted
1537. intrepidity. A battle took place on the *Rio-Claro*. The Peruvians, who were in the front, were soon routed; and although the Spaniards, after a furious struggle, which lasted until nightfall, remained masters of the field, the enemy were in no degree dismayed. They were prepared to renew the attack next morning; but the Spaniards had had enough of fighting for the present, and resolved by common consent to retreat rather than face a campaign before so warlike a people. A portion of Almagro's force would have formed a settlement in northern *Chili*; but it was their leader's object not to lessen his strength, and he accordingly retreated with his whole band towards *Cuzco*.

1540. Three years after the above-mentioned occurrences, when the Pizarros, by the death of Almagro, were undisputed lords of *Peru*, Francisco determined to renew an attempt on *Chili*. The enterprise had been confided by the court of Spain to two adventurers, named respectively Hoz and Carmargo. The former was to undertake the conquest of the country to the north of the river *Maule*; the latter was to reduce the territory southward of that stream as far as to the archipelago of *Chiloë*. But Pizarro, for some undivulged reason, declined to confirm the royal nomination, and appointed in his own name to the expedition Pedro de Valdivia, an able and well-trying officer, and one devoted to his party. Valdivia, however, was directed to take Hoz with him, and to satisfy him with a liberal distribution of land.

Valdivia determined to establish a permanent settlement in the country to which he was to proceed, and made preparation accordingly, taking with him not only two hundred Spanish fighting-men and a large body of Peruvians, but likewise several women, some monks, and a great number of European quadrupeds. Instructed by the experience of Almagro in the *Cordilleras*, although he pursued the same route, he took care to choose the summer for his passage. He thus incurred no loss on his way; but he met with a very different reception from that which had been accorded to his precursor. The inhabitants of northern *Chili* were by this time aware that the empire of the *Incas* was no more, and they accordingly no longer owed subjection to their Peruvian conquerors. They attacked the invaders on all sides, but with more valour than method. The Spaniards were accordingly enabled to overcome them in detail, and traversed the provinces of *Copiapo*, *Coquimbo*, *Quillota*, and *Melipilla*, and arrived with but little loss at that of *Mapocho*, now named *Santiago*.

In this fertile province, which lies upon the confines of the *Andes*, Valdivia determined to make a settlement, and with this view he laid the foundations of the fair city of *Santiago* on the 24th of February 1541. He laid out the city on the general Spanish colonial plan of dividing it into squares of uniform size; and in order to protect the settlement from attack, he constructed a fort upon a hill in the centre, which has since received the name of *S. Lucia*. His proceedings were watched by the natives with a jealous eye, and measures were concerted for getting rid of the unwelcome intruders. Valdivia, however, discovered the plot against him in time, and imprisoned the chief conspirators in his fortress, whilst he repaired with sixty horsemen to the river *Cachapoal* in order to watch the *Promaucians*, whom he suspected of being in league with the conspirators.

The natives of *Mapocho*, taking advantage of the

absence of Valdivia, fell upon the colony with inconceivable fury, burning the half-built houses and assailing the citadel wherein the inhabitants had taken refuge. Whilst these defended themselves bravely, a woman named Iñez Suarez, taking an axe, beat out the brains of the captive chiefs, who had attempted to escape. The battle, which began at daybreak, lasted until night, fresh assailants constantly filling the places of those who fell. Meanwhile a messenger had been despatched to inform Valdivia of what had occurred. He lost no time in hastening back, when he found the ditch filled with dead bodies, and the enemy preparing to renew the attack. Joining the besieged, he at once advanced upon the main force of the Chilians, who were posted upon the bank of the river *Mapocho*. There the struggle was renewed with equal fury and valour on either side, but with the advantage of skill and arms on that of the Spaniards. The natives, having at length lost the flower of their youth, dispersed over the plain.

Notwithstanding this defeat and others which followed, this brave people never ceased during six years (by which time they were almost utterly annihilated) to attack the Spaniards upon every occasion that presented itself, cutting off their provisions and compelling them to subsist on unwholesome food and on the small amount of grain which they could raise under the fire from the walls of *Santiago*. The once fertile plains in the neighbourhood were now a desert, such inhabitants as survived having retired to the mountains.

This prolonged and profitless fighting naturally disgusted the Spanish soldiery, and at length a conspiracy was organized amongst them against the life of Valdivia. That officer, however, having obtained information of what was passing, took his measures accordingly. Some of the conspirators were punished with death, and the soldiers in general were diverted by an expedition to the valley of *Quillota*, which was said to abound in mines

of gold. The result surpassed their most sanguine expectations. Past sufferings and present dangers were forgotten, and the longing to return to *Peru* no longer existed. All were anxious to remain in the new *El Dorado*, and the governor lost no time in constructing a frigate at the mouth of the river *Chile*, which was to bear to *Peru* the news of his discovery, and to bring him the necessary aid to enable him to prosecute it with success.

Meanwhile, however, the state of his affairs being urgent, Valdivia likewise despatched to *Peru* two of his officers by land, who should take with them six companions, whose spurs, bits, and stirrups he directed to be made of gold, which he knew would speak more eloquently than any words with a view to gaining him recruits. These messengers, although escorted by thirty horsemen, were attacked by the archers of *Copiapo*, and of the whole band only two escaped with life. These were the two officers Monroy and Miranda, who were brought before the *Ulmen*, covered with wounds. That prince resolved to put them to death, but was dissuaded from doing so by his wife, who pitied their deplorable condition. Several of the horses had been taken alive, and the *Ulmena* who had saved the Spaniards requested from them in return the slight favour of teaching her son to ride. This naturally suggested the idea of escape, which no one could blame the prisoners for attempting. But it would not have been in harmony with all Spanish conduct towards natives of the New World had they simply contented themselves with escaping. One day whilst the young prince was riding, escorted by his archers, and preceded by an officer armed with a lance, Monroy suddenly attacked him with a poniard, inflicting mortal wounds, whilst Miranda at the same time wrested the lance from the officer. The pair having thus rewarded the kindness of the *Ulmena*, put spurs to their horses and made their escape, in due time reaching *Cuzco*.

Vaca de Castro, who on the death of Pizarro was now governor of *Peru*, on being informed of the critical situation of his countrymen in *Chili*, at once despatched to their aid a considerable detachment of troops under Monroy, who on his return had the good fortune to escape the notice of the *Copiapins*. At the same time De Castro despatched by sea a still greater reinforcement under Juan Pastene, a Genoese. Both reinforcements reached Valdivia about the same time, thus enabling him to carry his vast designs into execution. Taking advantage of Pastene's nautical acquirements, he ordered him to make a complete survey of the sea-coast as far as to the Straits of *Magellan*. On his return from this service Pastene was despatched to *Peru* for further recruits, which were more than ever wanted, for since the successful affair in *Copiapo* the natives had become even more aggressive than before.

The inhabitants of the valley of *Quillota* had, by means of a stratagem, massacred all the Spanish soldiers employed at the mines. One of the neighbouring natives had brought to the commander a vessel filled with gold, telling him that he had found a large quantity of the precious metal in a neighbouring district. On this, all were impatient to proceed thither to secure their share of the treasure, and falling into an ambuscade were all cut off, with the exception of the commander and a negro, who owed their safety to their horses. At the same time the frigate, which had now been completed, was destroyed. On receiving news of this disaster, Valdivia hastened to *Quillota* with his troops, and there built a fort for the protection of the miners. Being reinforced with three hundred men, he thought fit to
1544. establish a settlement in the north of *Chili* to serve as a depôt and a protection for convoys. For this purpose he selected *Coquimbo*, which was founded by him in 1544.

Two years later, Valdivia, having passed the *Maule*,

proceeded to the river *Itata*. Whilst there encamped at night, at a place called *Quilacura*, he was attacked by the natives, who inflicted on him such a loss that he thought it prudent to renounce his intended expedition and to return to *Santiago*. Being disappointed by the non-arrival of the succours which he expected from *Peru*, he now resolved to proceed thither in person. As he was on the point of starting [1547], Pastene returned, but alone, and bringing news of the civil war. This did not deter Valdivia from his purpose, and the two set sail together for *Peru*. The part which was played in the final struggle in that country by the conqueror of *Chili* is detailed elsewhere. As a reward, he was confirmed by the President Gasca in the office of governor of *Chili*, and was furnished with an abundance of military stores. The president further put at his disposal two ships, in which he might take away with him many of the turbulent spirits who could be well spared from *Peru*.

During the absence of Valdivia, affairs in the south were by no means at a standstill. In the first place, Pedro de Hoz, who, it will be remembered, had been designated by the court of Spain for the conquest of *Chili*, was accused, rightly or wrongly, of endeavouring to supplant Valdivia, and was accordingly beheaded by order of the acting governor. In the next place, the inhabitants of *Copiapo*, eager to avenge the treacherous murder of their prince's son, cut off some forty Spaniards who were proceeding from *Peru* to *Chili*, whilst, at their instigation, the people of *Coquimbo* massacred the whole colony which had been recently founded in their territory, razing the city to its foundation. Aguirre was immediately sent thither, and after various encounters rebuilt the settlement on a more advantageous situation. Aguirre is considered by the inhabitants of *Coquimbo* as the founder of their city, and many of the patricians of the place claim him as their ancestor.

After a toilsome contest of nine years, Valdivia considered himself to be so firmly established in that part of *Chili* which had been under the dominion of the Peruvians as to warrant his partitioning the land amongst his soldiers. Having by these means satisfied the ambition of his companions, he set out anew for the southern provinces with a respectable army of Spaniards and of Promaucian allies. After a march of eighty leagues he at length arrived at the bay of *Panco*—already reached
1550. by *Pastene*—where, on the 5th of October 1550, he founded the city of *Conception*. This place, the situation of which is so advantageous for commerce on account of its excellent harbour, is exposed to earthquakes, by which, and by the simultaneous inundations of the sea, it has been twice destroyed.* Its occupation by the Spaniards excited alarm amongst the neighbouring warlike Araucanians, who, foreseeing that their turn would come next, resolved to succour the tribes near *Conception*. Thus was produced a fresh war, the details of which may be preceded in a future chapter by some account of the remarkable people who have hitherto, even to the present day, by their obstinate valour, alone amongst the native inhabitants of South America, withstood the tide of Spanish invasion, and maintained themselves independent in their mountain strongholds.

* On July 8th, 1730, and May 24th, 1751. On this account *New Conception* was founded November 24th, 1764.

CHAPTER IX.

BRAZIL ; FAILURE OF THE FRENCH AT RIO DE JANEIRO.

1510-1570.

IN following the progress of discovery in South America it is necessary to turn to another direction. The main centres from which discoveries were made may for general purposes be set down as three, namely:—

- (1.) From the Isthmus of *Panama* by the Spaniards;
- (2.) From the river *Plata* by the Spaniards; and
- (3.) From *Bahia*, on the coast of *Brazil*, by the Portuguese.

We have now to turn to the last-named point.

The date at which the first Portuguese settler established himself in *Bahia* was about 1510. The name ^{1510.} of this pioneer was Diogo Alvarez, the sole survivor of a crew wrecked to the north of that beautiful bay. He made himself useful to the natives, and being the fortunate possessor of a musket and some gunpowder, he so impressed their imaginations that they presently made him their chief. After a time, taking advantage of the visit of a French vessel, he was enabled to return to Europe and to initiate a trade between France and the region in which his lot was cast. He likewise desired that his countrymen should colonize the province; but the Portuguese Government were disposed rather to lend assistance towards establishing a trade between their own and distant countries than to encourage agricultural settlements abroad. For this reason, *Brazil*, which, from the nature of its population, offered but scanty inducements to traders, was neglected for many years after its dis-

covery. At length, however, it became of sufficient importance to attract attention, and the system was adopted, which had succeeded in other Portuguese settlements, of apportioning it out into captaincies, extending, as a rule, each for fifty leagues along the coast.

1531. The first person who took possession of one of these captaincies was Martim Affonso de Sousa, afterwards governor of the Portuguese possessions in India, and who had the distinction of carrying St. Francis Xavier to the East. He has the honour of having discovered the bay on which was to rise the future capital of *Brazil*, and which, under the belief that it was the estuary of a river, he named *Rio de Janeiro*, having discovered it on the first of January.

Having surveyed the coast southward to the *Plata*, he selected as a spot for a settlement an island in the twenty-fourth degree of southern latitude, and was fortunate enough to conciliate the good-will of the neighbouring population through the medium of a shipwrecked Portuguese sailor whom he found amongst them. This colony soon removed to the island of *S. Vicente*, from which the captaincy was named. Here Martim Affonso introduced the sugar-cane, and reared the first cattle known to that region.

Amongst the other captaincies founded about this period were those of *S. Amaro*, which adjoined *S. Vicente*, and *Espirito Santo* to the north. Next came the captaincy of *Porto Seguro*, where Cabral had landed on first taking possession of *Brazil*. Here sugar-works were established with considerable success. Beyond came the captaincy of the *Ilheos* or *Isles*, so called from a river with three islands near its bar. The town of old *S. Paulo* was soon afterwards founded.

The coast from the *San Francisco* river to the point of *Padram de Bahia* was granted to Francisco Coutinho, a distinguished *Fidalgo*, to whom was likewise assigned that beautiful bay with its surrounding creeks and hun-

dred islands. It may be mentioned, as showing the mixture of Portuguese and native blood which from the earliest settlement existed in the Brazilian race, that two of Coutinho's followers married daughters of the first Portuguese settler, Diogo Alvarez, the mothers of whom were native women. A son of one of the neighbouring chiefs having been killed by the Portuguese, the savages attacked Coutinho, and after seven years of hostilities compelled him to abandon his settlement and retreat to the adjoining captaincy of the Isles. He was afterwards treacherously slain.

One other captaincy was established about this time—that of *Pernambuco*, the chief town of which, from its lovely situation, received the suggestive name of *Olinda*. The tribe occupying the vicinity were called *Cahetes*, and have handed down to this day the remarkable wicker-work *catamarans*, which those who have landed at *Pernambuco* are not likely to forget. From this savage tribe, Coelho, to whom the grant was assigned, had to conquer by inches what had been granted to him by leagues; he was even attacked and besieged in his town. By degrees, however, and by the aid of an alliance with another tribe, he at length established himself in his captaincy.

The captaincy of *Maraham* was assigned to John de Barros, the historian, who, dividing his grant with two others, undertook a scheme of conquest as well as of colonization, sending out from Portugal an expedition of nine hundred men. Fortune, however, did not smile upon the enterprise. The fleet was wrecked on some shoals, and the survivors escaped to the island which bears the above-mentioned name.

It does not lie within the compass of this work to go into the condition of the native tribes in any part of South America previously to the arrival of the Spaniards and Portuguese. It will be sufficient to indicate the materials, whether European, native, mixed, or African,

of which the several States of South America were composed at the period of their declaring themselves independent of Spain and Portugal, respectively. We therefore pass over much that is interesting, as told by the early writers, of the condition of the tribes as they were found by the settlers in *Brazil*, a *résumé* of which may be found in the pages of Southey. There is not much of an active nature to relate in the history of the several captaincies at this period beyond a tale of successive little wars, in which the Portuguese were for the most part allied with some one native tribe against another.

It was not until the lapse of half a century after the discovery of *Brazil* that the Portuguese possessions, in that region came to be looked upon as being of real importance to the mother country. It then began to be perceived that the system of having so many captaincies or separate governments, under no supreme authority nearer than Lisbon, was one likely to be productive of considerable inconvenience and confusion. The lives and property of the colonists were at the mercy of the several governors, and serious complaints of this state of things reached the king of Portugal. It was resolved, therefore, to revoke the powers of the captains, whilst leaving them their grants, and to appoint over them a governor-general. The person chosen for this high office was De Sousa, who was instructed to establish himself at *Bahia*, which place he was to put into a state of defence against all enemies. He took with him the great Nobrega and some other Jesuit Fathers, the first of their order who proceeded to South America. A new town was now built at *Bahia*. A hundred houses arose within four months, and De Sousa's fleet was followed at no great distance of time by another, bearing a number of maidens of noble family, who were to be given in marriage to the officers and to receive dowries from the royal property. Young orphans were likewise sent out year by year to be educated by the Jesuits, who at once

began the system of beneficence towards the natives from which they never deviated; but they could not here, as they had done elsewhere, engraft the principles of Christianity upon the existing religion and manners of the country. It was impossible to come to any compromise with cannibalism, and almost impossible to wean the natives from this custom. The Jesuits, however, persevered in the face of all difficulties; they built churches; they established schools for children; they taught these to read and to write; and they made themselves acquainted with the native tongues, into which they translated the prayers of the Church. They had considerable difficulties, however, to encounter in reconciling their teaching with the practice of their fellow-countrymen; for it must be remembered that, during the half century that elapsed between the discovery of *Brazil* and the arrival of the Fathers, the colonists had been without religious guides. In one respect the Jesuits' work was easy. The youthful Brazilians showed themselves passionately fond of music, and were in this branch of education eager and apt pupils.

The number of Jesuits soon increased, and in the year 1552 Nobrega received the title of Vice-Provincial of *Brazil*.^{1552.} Two years later that government became the seat of a bishop, to whose arrival Nobrega anxiously looked forward for support against the easy-going priests, who, far from being imbued with the zeal of the Jesuits, connived at their countrymen enslaving the Brazilians and making their women their concubines. A Jesuit College was established in the plains of *Riatininga*, about thirteen leagues from *S. Vicente*, to which thirteen of the company were sent, and which received the name of *S. Paulo*, a name shared by the town which arose adjoining it. The chief of this establishment, the celebrated Anchieta, devoted himself by day and by night to the instruction of the numerous pupils who came to him from the neighbouring settlements, whilst at the same

time he did his best to acquaint them with the arts of civilization.

From the time of the discovery of *Brazil* the French had occasionally visited that coast, and about the year 1558. 1558 they attempted to establish themselves at *Rio de Janeiro* under Villegagnon, the same who had conveyed Mary Queen of Scots from Scotland to Brittany, eluding the vigilance of the English. He had obtained the permission of his sovereign to undertake an expedition to America, having given his assurances to Coligny that he would protect Protestants in the new colony. He received two large vessels and a store-ship, together with all that was necessary for the furtherance of his project. Being well received by the natives at *Rio de Janeiro*, who were hostile to the Portuguese, he took up his position on an island in the noble bay, not far from the entrance. Here he erected a small fortification, to which he gave the name of *Coligny*; in choosing a spot for a settlement, however, he had overlooked one great disadvantage, the absence of water. His expedition had been badly provided with stores; in consequence, his men were immediately on their arrival made to subsist upon the food of the country, and the result was a conspiracy against him. It was, however, thwarted by the fidelity of three Scotchmen whom Villegagnon reserved as his guard. Coligny was indefatigable in supplying the wants of the colony, but he had been deceived by Villegagnon's protestations of zeal for the reformed religion, which had been feigned for the purpose of gaining the admiral's influence. In *Brazil* he threw off the mask, and those who had joined his settlement for the sake of liberty of conscience found themselves even worse off than they had been in France.

The Portuguese permitted the French colony to remain for four years unmolested, and had it not been for the treachery and double-dealing of Villegagnon, *Rio de Janeiro* might have remained a permanent French settle-

ment. Some ten thousand Huguenots were ready to emigrate, with their arts, had they been sure of meeting with toleration; but the governor's arbitrary proceedings ruined the project. The court of Lisbon was at length aroused by Nobrega to the dangerous rivalry of the French, and orders were issued to destroy their fortifications at *Rio de Janeiro*, two ships of war and a number of merchantmen being fitted out for the purpose. Two days and nights were expended in battering the fortresses. The Portuguese, after much waste of their resources, at length succeeded in carrying the largest of the outworks, and likewise the rock on which the magazine was situated. During the ensuing night the French and their native allies fled, either to the ships or to the mainland. The Portuguese, not being in sufficient strength to enable them to retain the island, demolished the works, and sailed for *Santos*, carrying off the artillery and stores. The credit of this successful expedition is entirely due to the indefatigable Nobrega.

During this decisive affair Villegagnon was absent in France, where he proposed to raise a fleet for the purpose of destroying the Portuguese settlements in *Brazil*; but his previous treachery stood in the way of his effecting his purpose.

The history of the early Portuguese in *Brazil* is in some respects far more satisfactory, if it be less exciting, than that of the Spaniards in *Peru*. They were there for the legitimate purpose of colonizing and cultivating a portion of a vast region where there was ample room at the same time for them and for the tribes in their neighbourhood; and if the colonists, on the one hand, were ever ready to enslave the natives, the Churchmen who followed in their wake were, on the other hand, as ready to denounce the practice, and to sow the seeds of real Christianity amongst the savages. The foremost name in the records of this good work is that of Nobrega, than whom a more sincere, self-denying, and enlightened

missionary was never sent forth by any branch of the Christian Church.

The Jesuits in *Brazil* began their efforts where all missionary efforts that are to succeed must begin, with children. Their unprejudiced minds were open to teaching, and they were at an age to acquire the Portuguese language, and thus to become interpreters for the Fathers. The sick were visited, and the death-bed was soothed. Nobrega and his companions commenced their work with the tribes near *San Salvador* or *Bahia*. These they tried their best to persuade to live in peace and to be reconciled to their enemies. It may seem to us somewhat strange that while the Fathers are recorded to have succeeded in inducing their converts to abstain from excessive drinking, and to take to one wife alone, they should still have found it impossible to induce them to abandon the supreme luxury of feeding on the flesh of their enemies. In one instance a missionary is said to have succeeded where others failed, by flagellating himself before the doors of the cannibals until he was covered with blood, telling them that he thus punished himself to avert the punishment of God upon them for their sins.

Being aided by a zealous governor in the person of Mem de Sa, the Jesuits carried on their labours with considerable success, forming a number of settlements of converted natives. But the character of their progress was not unvaried. They had to contend with hostilities, which, though originating in the proceedings of their countrymen, and in nowise in their own conduct, still recoiled upon them. The small-pox, too, which spread from island to coast, is said, though perhaps with some exaggeration, to have carried off thirty thousand of the Indians who had been their converts.

In the face of these disasters, Nobrega proclaimed aloud that the Portuguese were but suffering the righteous judgment of Heaven. They had broken treaties ;

they had enslaved prisoners; they had connived at cannibalism on the part of their allies. He was no mere eloquent declaimer. His words were followed by the most signal and heroic proof that they came from his innermost soul. He himself, with his colleague Anchieta, resolved to put themselves into the hands of the natives in order to obtain peace; and it speaks volumes for the character of the Fathers that, in the face of Portuguese treachery, the habit of their order was a safe passport amongst the savages.

It is true that twelve native youths were sent to *S. Vicente* as hostages; but in face of the excitement and prejudice which prevailed, it is probable that the two Fathers, who really deserved the name of holy men, owed their safety, and what they valued infinitely more, the success of their mission, rather to their own saintly and irreproachable conduct than to the guarantee of hostages. They nobly refused to accept peace on the condition of recommending their governor to give up three native chiefs who had allied themselves with the Portuguese, and who had accepted Christianity: their countrymen's first duty, they said, was to keep faith inviolate, and if they should betray their allies, how could they now be trusted? The reply of the chief with whom they parleyed was, that if the Portuguese should decline to give up these men whom, according to their code of honour, it was incumbent they should receive, there should be no peace. A reference to the governor was agreed upon on both sides; but Nobrega, with a patriotic spirit which recalls that of the Roman Regulus, warned him emphatically against concluding peace on disgraceful terms under the apprehension of what might befall himself and his colleague. For two months the missionaries remained in this position. At the end of that time Nobrega was permitted to return, to consult with the governor, whilst Anchieta remained as a hostage; but after three months thus passed by the

latter, he too for the time failed to win the crown of martyrdom; and a reconciliation was effected, chiefly through the efforts of Nobrega.

The small-pox about this period seems to have produced enormous havoc in certain of the Portuguese settlements in *Brazil*, where some three-fourths of the natives were carried away by it, or by the pestilence which followed in its wake. Six of the settlements which had been founded by the Jesuits had to be abandoned; and the Portuguese, we are told, profiting by the misery of their neighbours, gave food in exchange for slaves. Certain starving individuals sold their own persons, whilst others parted with their children. But although the lawfulness of these purchases was not questioned, the consciences of the purchasers were somewhat ill-at-ease in the matter. They, it seems, really thought it unfair and unchristian-like to claim men as their slaves, over whom they had no other right save that acquired by giving them food to save their lives. Yet they were unwilling to let them go free, if for no other reason than that their souls would be no longer in the way of salvation. In this dilemma a compromise was hit upon between God and Mammon; the slaves were told they were no longer slaves; but still, that they must continue to serve their possessors for life, to receive yearly wages. Should they escape, they would be pursued and punished; but the masters were not to sell or otherwise part with them.

The Portuguese Government were not satisfied that the possession of Villegagnon's island at *Rio de Janeiro* should not have been retained; and a good opportunity of regaining it seemed to offer on the peace with the *Tamoios*, which had been procured by Nobrega and his companion. Accordingly, the nephew of the Portuguese governor was sent to *Bahia* with two vessels, and with orders for his uncle to supply him with the force requisite for this purpose. Estacio de Sa reached his destination

in February 1564, and in accordance with the advice ^{1564.} of his uncle, before commencing operations, summoned Nobrega to his councils. They learned from a Frenchman that the tribe of *Tamoyos* had already broken the recent peace, and were the allies of his countrymen. This unexpected news completely upset the plans of the Portuguese commander, for the French vessels were protected by the *Tamoyos* at every point where an attack was possible. They declined to put out to sea, and, for want of small craft, he could not attack them at close quarters. Under these circumstances, and having learned that *S. Vicente* was beset by the savages, he thought it prudent to proceed to the latter place; he was, however, driven back by a storm to *Rio de Janeiro*.

It was now resolved by Estacio de Sa, in consultation with Nobrega, to proceed to *Santos*, where they found to their relief that those natives with whom the latter had been a hostage remained true to their engagements; and his presence and influence materially contributed to strengthen the force. These preparations, however, consumed the remainder of the year, and it was not until the following January (1565) that the expedition, consisting of six ships of war with a proportionate number of smaller craft, was ready to put to sea. But so unfavourable were the winds that, although they sailed from *Bertioga* on the 20th of January, it was the beginning of March when they reached *Rio de Janeiro*.

The troops were landed at *Villa Velha*, beneath the "Sugar Loaf." Hardly had they intrenched themselves when they were attacked by the *Tamoyos*, who, however, were routed. The war was carried on with dilatoriness, a quality which has not unfrequently distinguished the military operations of Portugal and of *Brazil*. More than a year was wasted in petty skirmishes; at the end of this time the governor, Mem de Sa, appeared in person on the scene, exactly two years after the expedition had sailed from *S. Vicente*. On St. Sebastian's day the

French stronghold was assaulted: not one of their native allies escaped; two Frenchmen were killed, and five, who were made prisoners, were hanged. The victors then proceeded to another fortress of the enemy on *Cat* Island. After a bombardment this too was carried, but in the assault Estacio de Sa received a mortal wound. Most of the French escaped, and having with their allies been totally defeated, sailed in their four vessels to the province of *Pernambuco*, where they took possession of *Recife*. They were, however, attacked by the Portuguese governor of *Olinda*, and were compelled again to have recourse to their ships. Thus was *Rio de Janeiro* finally lost to the French. Those of the sons of France who should have formed the enduring colony marked out by Coligny were, through the treachery of Villegagnon, employed in bearing arms against their countrymen in France.

According to his instructions, the governor's first act was to lay the foundations of a city, which, in honour of the Portuguese monarch and of the saint on whose day the victory had been won, was called *S. Sebastian*. The fortifications commanding the entrance to the harbour were completed by the natives, under the eye of the Jesuits, without any cost to the state; and it was but fair that the company should have assigned to it the space within the city for a college, together with a donation sufficient for the support of fifty brethren.

The French soon afterwards made an attempt to establish themselves at *Paraíba*, where for some time they carried on a profitable trade, and where they became allied with the natives; but they were not more successful in maintaining themselves here than they had been at *Rio de Janeiro*, and *Paraíba* too became a Portuguese settlement.

The Order of the Jesuits was at this time all-powerful in *Brazil*, where they had indeed rendered great services to the crown as well as to the Church; and a

fresh accession to their strength was despatched with the new governor, Luiz de Vasconcellos, who, in 1570, ^{1570.} was appointed to relieve Mem de Sa. The reinforcement which he brought with him was headed by Azevedo, who was appointed Provincial. Nine and thirty brethren embarked with Azevedo in the "St. Iago," half of which vessel was freighted for them, the other half bearing cargo for the island of *Palma* in the *Canaries*. The vessel had halted at *Madeira*, and as the passage to *Palma* was considered to be dangerous on account of French pirates, Azevedo was entreated not to expose himself unnecessarily. For himself he declined to take the advice given him, but he permitted his comrades to exchange into another vessel. Only four novices, whose places were quickly supplied by others, thought fit to do so; for the rest, the near probability of the crown of martyrdom had an irresistible charm. On the day after their departure five French ships appeared. Vasconcellos at once put to sea; but the Frenchmen declined action, and stood off towards the *Canaries*. The squadron was from *La Rochelle*, and was commanded by a Huguenot. After seven days, Azevedo reached the island of *Palma*, at three leagues' distance from the town, to which he was urged to proceed by land. The advice was disregarded, with the result that, when he and his friends were off *Palma*, the French appeared in sight. The Portuguese mariners made unavailing resistance, and one alone of the Jesuits, being in lay costume, escaped the death which for them had not only no terror, but seemed to be an object of desire.

This catastrophe has been quoted with unlimited admiration, and the martyrs have received all due posthumous honour; but if we look at the circumstances from any point of view save that of a fanatic, our admiration must be considerably qualified. Azevedo and his companions were doubtless brave men; but they

had been educated and sent out from their country with the express purpose of converting the heathen ; and it was surely not their duty in any sense wantonly and recklessly to go out of their way to seek premature death. If the crown of martyrdom was so dear to them—if, in the language of certain writers, they were swallowed up by other-worldliness—the prize might surely have been gained more honourably amongst the savages of *Brazil* than at the hands of French corsairs. Of the eight-and-thirty foolhardy men whose blood so uselessly stained the waters of *Palma*, one might have proved a second Nobrega. To an unprejudiced person it seems that, so far from acting for "*the greater glory of God*" by provoking wholesale massacre, they were deliberately doing the contrary, since they were thus cutting themselves off from a sphere of vast usefulness. Nor can we greatly blame the commander of the French squadron for his conduct on the occasion. It was but one scene in a fierce religious war, in which the priests, not the Huguenots, were the aggressors.

Vasconcellos set sail with the remainder of his fleet. When, after a long and miserable voyage, he sighted the coast of *Brazil*, his vessels were driven far to the north and were dispersed. At length his followers were so reduced in numbers that one vessel might contain them all ; yet not even this one vessel was destined to reach its destination in safety. It was attacked by a French squadron, and, after a hopeless resistance, the governor fell ; whilst fourteen remaining Jesuits shared the fate of the martyrs of *Palma*. Of sixty-nine Jesuit missionaries who had set out with Azevedo, one alone reached *Brazil*.

CHAPTER X.

PERU; SUPREMACY OF GONZALO PIZARRO.

1542-1545.

THE conspirators who had assassinated Pizarro succeeded ^{1541.} in securing possession of *Lima*, and their next step was at once to send to the different cities proclaiming the revolution and claiming the recognition of the son of Almagro as governor of *Peru*. At *Truxillo* and *Arequipa*, where it was emphasized by the presence of a military force, the summons was obeyed; but in other cities it was received with merely nominal assent, whilst in some it was disregarded. At *Cuzco*, where the Almagro faction prevailed, the dissenting magistrates were summarily ejected from office; but they were soon after reinstated by means of a neighbouring military force commanded by one of Pizarro's captains. The conspirators had most to dread from the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, whose commission to assume the post of governor in case of the death of Pizarro had now come into force. De Castro was still in the north, but on being advised of Pizarro's death he quickened his steps southwards. He was in a difficult position, having a very imperfect acquaintance with the political state of the country, and he was neither a soldier himself nor supported by a military force. He was, however, a man of courage, and had confidence in his own resources, besides relying on the habitual loyalty of Spaniards to the crown.

Without delay, therefore, he pursued his march towards *Quito*, where he was well received by the officer who had charge of that place during the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro on the *Amazons*. At *Quito* he displayed the royal commission empowering him to assume the government, and thence he sent emissaries to the principal places requiring obedience to himself as the representative of the crown. But meanwhile the faction of the young Almagro was gaining strength at *Lima*. His forces were commanded by Rada, who obtained the necessary funds for preparing his soldiers for service. Such of Pizarro's followers as declined to be reconciled to the ruling faction were permitted to depart from *Lima*, amongst these being the Bishop Valverde, who, however, almost immediately afterwards fell into the hands of the hostile natives of *Puná*, from whom he received the violent death which was in harmony with the lawless scenes in which he had taken part. As the young Almagro's power was founded solely on usurpation, it was of course a mere trial of strength between his rebel bands and such loyal forces as might rally round the governor. His policy was to defeat these in detail before they had time to effect a junction under De Castro. He, however, sustained a severe loss in the death from fever of his Lieutenant, Rada, which occasioned an ill-timed jealousy between his next principal officers, and which thwarted his well-conceived plans. The result was that the two chief bodies of the opposite faction succeeded in effecting a junction, and he was compelled to fall back on *Cuzco*, in which city he found no opposition.

At *Cuzco*, however, the rivalry of his two chief officers again broke out, with the result that they were each in turn assassinated. Almagro then lost no time in providing for his men against the inevitable approaching campaign; in which effort he was aided by the *Inca* Manco, whose friendship was probably heightened by

the circumstance that Almagro's mother was a Peruvian princess. The *Inca* likewise promised to support him with a detachment of native troops. Before the final appeal to arms, however, each side was willing to try the effect of negotiation, each being aware that the result of the struggle was doubtful. The governor was prepared to grant Almagro pardon, in consideration of his youth and inexperience, provided that he should give up the leaders of the conspiracy who had taken part in the death of Pizarro. To this proposition Almagro could not with honour assent, and nothing was left but to await the ordeal of battle. Meanwhile De Castro continued to advance southwards, and was well received at *S. Miguel* and *Truxillo*. It was not till the early part of 1542 that he reached the scene where the contest was to be decided, and where he showed remarkable skill in asserting his own supreme authority, notwithstanding the pretensions of the two ambitious officers who commanded the royal troops, and each of whom aspired to the chief military authority. Having entered *Lima*, he was received with demonstrations of joy, and obtained the necessary funds for the prosecution of his enterprise.

The contest was decided on the plains of *Xauxa*, where the governor's forces amounted to no more than seven hundred men, being more or less equally matched by those of the enemy. It was late in the afternoon of the 16th September when the hostile forces met. The combat was terrible, for quarter was neither asked for nor given. Night had fallen on the combatants long before the struggle was decided; but the victory at length declared itself in favour of the royalists. From three to five hundred—an enormous proportion—are said to have fallen on either side, and at least one-half of the survivors of Almagro's party were made prisoners. Their young commander, who had performed prodigies of valour, escaped unhurt to *Cuzco*, where, however, he was at once

arrested, and where, having been tried by a council of war, he soon shared the fate which had befallen his father, meeting his death with the utmost courage.

The governor's next care was called for by the proceedings of Gonzalo Pizarro, who had arrived at *Lima*, where he loudly complained that the government of the country had not been placed in his hands on his brother's death. It was reported that he now meditated seizing the capital; but against this De Castro took the prudent precaution of detaching a force in that direction, whilst at the same time he required Pizarro's presence at *Cuzco*. Such was his tact and conciliatory demeanour that the aggrieved chief found no opportunity for quarrelling, and he thought it prudent to comply with the governor's advice that he should retire to his possessions in *La Plata*, where he occupied himself to some purpose in working its mines of silver.

The authority of the crown being thus fully re-established, there was no lack of subjects to occupy the governor's attention. As was natural, many of the cavaliers who had assisted him in the struggle now demanded their reward. He was happy to rid himself of their importunities by sending them on distant expeditions, some being in the direction of the *Rio de la Plata*. But his chief concern was to establish laws for the better government of the colony. He did not neglect the Indian population, and established schools for Christian education. He invited the natives to reside within the Spanish communities, and required the *caciques* to provide supplies for the wayside houses for travellers, thus facilitating intercourse and removing pretexts for plundering. He braved considerable odium by reducing the proportions of the *repartimientos* of Indians amongst the conquerors; but as his measures were manifestly dictated by motives of justice, he was supported by the general opinion of the community. Indeed, Vaca de Castro stands out in most pleasing contrast to the military

adventurers by whom he had been preceded in *Peru*. With the disadvantage of being a civilian, unused to arms or to military command, and being, further, on his arrival without funds or troops, with the country before him in a state of anarchy, he yet never quailed or shrank from his duty. He displayed not only the tact and conciliatory disposition which might have been expected from the circumstances of his selection, but further, high moral and personal courage; and whilst he spared no pains to secure the interests of his government and of his countrymen beneath his rule, it was his especial honour to make the professions of his superiors in favour of the natives not merely a declaration in words, but a reality in deed.

The spoils of the Peruvian empire, which had been so easily won by a mere handful of Spaniards, were as easily dissipated in riotous living. The provident arrangements of the *Incas* on behalf of their subjects were suffered to fall into decay. The granaries were emptied; the flocks of *llamas* were wantonly slaughtered; whilst the lives of the Indians themselves were held so cheap that they were not only systematically worked beyond their strength until they died, but were even occasionally hunted by blood-hounds for the mere amusement of their conquerors. It is almost unnecessary to add that for the young women of the country, from the Virgins of the Sun downwards, there was no protection whatsoever. The poor natives, destitute of food, and no longer warmed by the produce of the fleece of the *llama*, wandered naked over the plains.

Yet fortunately there were not wanting in the colonies men who from time to time raised their voices against the abuses and enormities of which their countrymen were guilty, and made themselves heard even at the foot of the throne. Nor must it be supposed that the enormities which have been alluded to were in any way sanctioned by the emperor. It must be remembered

that the Spanish possessions in the New World were at an immense distance from home, and that in those days the means of communication were slow and irregular. It would therefore no more be fair to charge upon the Spanish crown the responsibility for encouraging or approving the caprices or pastimes of a set probably of the greatest ruffians in the emperor's dominions, than it would have been, in the days before communication by steam and telegraph, to hold Her Majesty's Government responsible for the deeds of certain of Her subjects who were early settlers in South Africa or Australia. The Government of Spain was ever desirous to obtain information respecting the state of their transatlantic dominions, and for this end relied not only on the regular colonial officers of the crown, but from time to time deputed special commissioners for the purpose of making inquiries. Yet even when impartial inquiries were made and full reports written, all was not done; for the Spanish Government was essentially a personal one, and the emperor was very frequently absent from that kingdom.

1542. Fortunately, however, for the credit of his reign and for the existence of his transatlantic subjects, he visited his ancestral dominions in the Peninsula in the year 1542, when the condition of the colonies was strongly pressed upon his conscience. In the same year a council of jurists and theologians was convened at Valladolid to devise a system of laws for the American colonies. Las Casas, who had emerged from his cell, appeared before it, when he powerfully pleaded the cause of the oppressed. He showed that, putting aside natural rights, unless the Government should interfere, the native races must be gradually exterminated by the systematic oppression of the Spaniards, and he maintained that it was against the will of God to inflict evil on the plea that good might come of it. His arguments, as might be expected, were met by much opposition, some even of those who sympathized with him deeming that his views were utopian and

impracticable. His eloquence, however, dictated by the best of motives and based upon the foundation of facts, in the end prevailed, and the result was a code of ordinances for all the American colonies, some provisions of which had immediate reference to *Peru*.

The natives of *Peru* were declared vassals of the crown, and their freedom as such was recognised; yet those of the conquerors who might have become lawfully possessed of slaves might still retain them, though at the death of their present proprietors they were to revert to the crown. All slaves, however, should be forfeited by those who had shown themselves, by neglect or ill-usage, unworthy to hold them. Those likewise were to be free who were held by public functionaries, present or past, by ecclesiastics and religious corporations, and by all who had taken a criminal part in the feuds of Almagro and Pizarro. It was further ordered that the Indians should be moderately taxed; that they should not be compelled to labour where they did not choose to, or that, if this were necessary, they should receive fair compensation. The *repartimientos* of land which were excessive should be reduced; and where proprietors had notoriously been guilty of abuse of their slaves, their estates were to be forfeited.

Taking into consideration the past troubles in *Peru*, and the necessity for the crown being adequately represented there, it was resolved to send a Viceroy to rule over that province. He was to be accompanied by a royal audience, consisting of four judges, who should constitute a council to the Viceroy, whose residence was to be at *Lima*. But it was not foreseen that this sweeping legislation, which struck at the very foundations of colonial society and property, might not be quietly acquiesced in by the colonists. It raised, in point of fact, one of those sudden storms which we have in our own time seen more than once break over our Indian Empire on the announcement of some legislative

measure affecting the relations between Anglo-Indians and Asiatics which was not to the taste of the former, and its results were such as fortunately we have been so far spared in our own experience. When the tidings reached the New World men were astounded, and saw before them only the prospect of uncertainty or ruin. In *Peru* in particular scarcely one single person could escape being involved in the provisions of some clauses of the new laws, if for no other reason than that the whole Spanish population had on the one side or on the other taken part in the struggle for mastery between the factions of Pizarro and Almagro. The whole country was thrown into confusion; and loud were the denunciations against the Government which had thus deprived at one stroke the freebooters of so much of their ill-gotten spoil.

Nor did they stop at reproaches. There was but one step to menace. The colonists had won their possessions with their swords, and they now declared that by the same means they knew how to retain them. The governor, Vaca de Castro, who had so admirably acquitted himself of his duties hitherto, was now indeed placed in a trying situation. He was at *Cuzco*, in the midst of a mixed population, and separated from *Lima* and from the sea. He was appealed to by the colonists to protect them against the tyranny of the court; but he did his best to dissuade them from violent measures, prudently suggesting that they should send deputies to lay their pleas respectfully before the crown. In his present trying position, as in his previous conduct, he proved himself an able and judicious man; but it was beyond his power to allay the storm that had been raised, even although he suggested that the Viceroy on his arrival might take it upon himself to postpone the execution of the ordinances until after the receipt of further advices from Castile.

Such being the state of things, the discontented Peruvian colonists not unnaturally turned their attention to

Gonzalo Pizarro, the representative of the conqueror under whose banner the country had been won. Gonzalo was at this time at *Charcas*, the modern *Chuquisaca*, and was busily engaged in exploring the silver mines of *Potosí*. He was not discontented at the turn which things had taken, but was sufficiently prudent to provide the means of warfare before rushing into action; and while he did not discourage the malcontents, he was careful not to commit himself. In the latter course he was confirmed by letters from Vaca de Castro, whose prudent measures served at least to lull for a time the troubled waters.

The new Viceroy at length arrived. Blasco Nuñez Vela was a handsome cavalier of the years of discretion; but unfortunately he proved wholly unequal to cope with the difficult situation before him. It was not owing to any disapproval of the measures or proceedings of Vaca de Castro that that officer now found himself superseded; but intelligence of events travelled so slowly that the full success of his policy was not at once apparent, and the Government of Spain thought they were acting for the best in sending out as Viceroy a person unconnected with the events that had passed. The Emperor at the same time wrote an autograph letter to the ex-governor, in which he thanked him for his services, and directed him, after having given his successor the benefit of his experience, to return homewards to sit in the royal council.

In January 1544 the Viceroy reached the Isthmus. ^{1544.} Finding at *Nombre de Dios* a vessel laden with silver from *Peru*, and which was about to depart for Spain, he lost no time in putting his new edict into execution by laying an embargo on the ship as containing the product of slave labour. He then crossed to *Panamá*, where he caused some three hundred Peruvians to be liberated and sent back to their own country. This proceeding, dictated though it was by a desire to put the new laws into execution without a moment's delay, was obviously

calculated to unsettle the colonial society to the last degree; nor would the Viceroy listen to remonstrances on the subject even from the most experienced persons. All this augured badly for the prospect of peace, and the Viceroy's progress to the seat of his government only brought matters from worse to worse. On the 4th of March he arrived at *Tumbez*, where his authority was proclaimed, the inhabitants being overawed by the magnificence of his surroundings. Still continuing to exhibit the policy which he had been sent out to initiate, and which with Castilian pride he disdained to veil, he here liberated a number of Peruvian slaves. From *Tumbez* he proceeded by land towards the south, causing his baggage to be carried by mules when practicable, or, if the services of Peruvians were necessary for this purpose, he took care that they should be duly paid.

It is not surprising that the whole country should have been thrown into a state of consternation by the proceedings of the Viceroy. "Indignation" meetings were called in the cities; and it was even urged that the gates of *Lima* should be closed against him, a course of proceeding which was obviated by the remonstrances of Vaca de Castro. The colonists now more than ever turned towards Gonzalo Pizarro, who was, as time passed, ever in a better position to assume a leading part. That chief had indeed much to render him discontented. His brother, the first governor, had been assassinated at his post, and two others of the five brethren had met a violent death in *Peru*. The fourth brother, Hernando, was now a prisoner in Spain; whilst the new ordinances sacrificed Gonzalo's own position, since he had taken a leading part against Almagro. From the previous proceeding of the Viceroy, since the moment of his arrival on American soil, it was evident that he was a man who marched straight towards the end he had in view, and that he would no more spare Pizarro than he would any other of the offending conquerors.

The unfortunate Gonzalo, who had so much to lose, and who had so relentless a judge, was thus almost forced into rebellion. With a small number of cavaliers, and well provided with silver, he repaired to *Cuzco*, where he was saluted as the spokesman of *Peru*. The title of Procurator-General was confirmed to him by the municipality, and he was invited to proceed at the head of a deputation to *Lima* to lay the colonial grievances before the Viceroy. Pizarro, however, aimed at playing more than a subordinate part. He demanded permission to raise an armed force, in order that he might thus be in a position to urge his views with greater weight. The municipality of *Cuzco* at first hesitated, but at length consented, and Gonzalo had conferred upon him the title of Captain-General.

The Viceroy, as was to be anticipated, met with but a cold reception at *Lima*, as he had along the route thither from the coast. At the capital his first act was again to proclaim his determination to carry out the new royal ordinances. He had no warrant to suspend their execution, but he would join the colonists in a memorial to the Emperor asking the repeal of a code in the advisability of which he no longer believed. At this juncture Blasco Nuñez, however high may have been his intentions and however good his principles, showed himself to be a man unfitted for holding the extremely responsible position in which he was placed. All right-minded persons will agree with him in the abstract justice of the ordinances which he had been commanded to enforce; and we may still further allow him time to arrive at the conclusion that the state of things being such as it was, it was not expedient to carry the new ordinances forthwith into application. Under these circumstances, a great man, placed in the position of Viceroy, would certainly have taken it upon himself to suspend the execution of the ordinances pending a reference to the imperial authority: to act as did the Viceroy was to give the moral

weight of his judgment to the colonists, and to withdraw it from the crown, whose representative he was.

As might have been expected, there was much murmuring at *Lima*, and much communication was held between the different towns. Yet the Viceroy never dreamed of finching from his course, and even when informed of the preparations of Gonzalo Pizarro, calmly relying on his authority, sent him orders to disband his forces. The latter, however, continued busily engaged in gathering together his army. He spared no efforts to procure men and materials, employing natives both for forced labour and for tributary levies. He not only expended his own resources, but acting, as he said, in the public interest, did not scruple to appropriate the funds in the royal treasury of *Cuzco*. By these means he found himself at the head of a well-equipped force; but he was at the same time disheartened by the desertion of some cavaliers of *Cuzco*, who at the eleventh hour seemed to realize that they were on the path of rebellion. At the same time he received intelligence of the assassination of the *Inca* Manco, who, in the coming struggle, might have played the part of umpire.

The Viceroy now at length began to realize the gravity of his situation. One after another of the officers whom he had despatched to arrest Pizarro's progress augmented the forces of that leader. Being thus betrayed, he is not perhaps to be very much blamed if he now suspected every one around him; but he should have acted on better grounds than mere suspicion before he gave orders for the arrest of his predecessor, Vaca de Castro. He had now recourse to negotiation, and despatched the bishop of *Lima* to Gonzalo's camp. This measure not meeting with success, the Viceroy prepared for war. He put the capital in a state of defence, and gave orders for a general enrolment of the citizens. In the meantime the judges of Audience, who had been left behind, arrived at *Lima*. They had not given their consent to his action

in *Panamá*, and on arriving at the capital they recorded their disapproval of his subsequent proceedings in every particular,—going even to the length of discharging many persons who had been placed in prison by his orders. Thus was the government no less in disagreement with its own component parts than it was with the country under its rule.

What brought things to a climax was the violence of the Viceroy himself. He had summoned to his palace late at night a cavalier of *Lima*, named Carbajal, whom he suspected of conniving at the treason of certain of his relatives. This imputation the cavalier indignantly repelled, and high words ensued; the Viceroy struck him with his dagger, and the attendants rushed in and despatched him. It was an unpremeditated outburst and was quickly repented of; but no repentance could ward off the detestation which it drew down upon the Viceroy. It was clear enough that the people needed some other protector than the head of the government, for none knew who might be the next victim to his temper. Some were for trusting for protection to the Audience; but most men were inclined to place themselves under Gonzalo Pizarro, who was now slowly advancing towards *Lima*. The Viceroy felt the bitter consequences of the position to which his rashness had reduced him. He had placed the town in a state of defence, but he could no longer rely on his troops to defend it. In this dilemma it occurred to him to quit the capital and withdraw to *Truxillo*, about eighty leagues distant, sending the women and the effects of the citizens thither by water. But the Audience here interposed. Both he and they appealed to force. The judges and their followers took the initiative; the Viceroy's palace was entered; his person was taken and placed in strict confinement.

The first act of the judges on assuming power was to declare the ordinances suspended until instructions should be received from Spain. It was likewise determined

that one of their own body should return thither, in charge of the captive Viceroy. But a more formidable enemy yet remained to be encountered in Gonzalo Pizarro. He halted at *Xauxa*, about ninety miles from *Lima*, where he was joined by numbers of the citizens. The judges sent him an envoy to announce the revolution that had taken place and the suspension of the ordinances. They pointed out that since the object of his mission had thus been effected and a new government appointed, it was for him to show a good example by submitting to it, by disbanding his troops, and by withdrawing to his estates. The envoy, however, was sent back to the judges with the answer that Gonzalo Pizarro had been called to the government by the people, and that should the Audience hesitate to deliver it to him, *Lima* would be given up to pillage.

After a little delay the judges saw that they had no alternative but to yield where resistance was unavailing, and thus in October 1544 Gonzalo Pizarro entered *Lima* at the head of twelve hundred Spaniards and several thousand Indians; and amidst the discharge of cannon and the peals of bells he was proclaimed Governor and Captain-General of *Peru* until his Majesty's pleasure should be known—the judges administering the oaths of office. Gonzalo's first act was to secure the persons of those who had taken an active part against him. They were sent into banishment, and their estates were confiscated. He filled the government of *Lima* with his partisans, and sent adherents to the principal towns. He caused vessels to be built, and brought his forces into the best condition. The Audience existed now only in name. One judge had departed with the Viceroy; another had become a tool in the hands of Pizarro; a third was confined to his house by illness; and the fourth Gonzalo proposed to send back to Castile, to place before the Emperor a statement of what had occurred; but this last measure was not carried out,

owing to the vessel in which it was proposed that he should leave having been otherwise employed.

The ex-governor, Vaca de Castro, having no mind to fall into the hands of Pizarro, had bribed or otherwise persuaded the captain of the vessel on board of which he was confined to set sail for *Panamá*. Thence he in due course found his way to Spain. He had been previously recognized by the Government as having done his duty zealously and ably; but meanwhile he had fallen under the evil eye of his suspicious and autocratic successor, and complaints against his conduct had preceded him. These were ultimately declared groundless and futile; but in the meantime, whilst his conduct was being investigated, he was detained during twelve years a state prisoner—a strange manner of encouraging future Spanish governors to do their duty! After this lengthy period of probation or purgatory, it is satisfactory to read that the honours originally destined for Vaca de Castro were at length conferred upon him. He took his seat in the royal council, and during the remainder of his days enjoyed the public consideration to which he was so well entitled.

A strange surprise was now in store for Gonzalo Pizarro. The vessel in which the Viceroy, Blasco Nuñez, had sailed, had not long left the shore when Alvarez, the judge who had charge of him, presenting himself before him, announced that he was no longer a prisoner. He informed him at the same time that the ship was at his disposal. Blasco Nuñez eagerly availed himself of the circumstance; for his proud spirit revolted at the idea of returning home in disgrace. In an evil moment for himself he decided once more to try his fortune in *Peru*. He determined to direct his steps to *Quito*, and accordingly disembarked at *Tumbez*, where he issued a manifesto denouncing Pizarro and his followers as traitors, and calling on all true subjects to rally to the royal authority. Volunteers came in at his call; but before

he was in a condition to fight, he received news of the arrival of one of Pizarro's officers on the coast with a superior force. He then made such haste as he could to *Quito*, where he received the assurance of the support of Banalcazar, the governor of *Popayan*, upon which he made a counter-march to *San Miguel*.

At *San Miguel*, which was situated on the high-road along the Pacific, the Viceroy erected his standard, and in a few weeks he found himself at the head of a force of about five hundred men; but meanwhile Pizarro had not been idle. Being convinced that his only chance of ultimate safety lay in his present success, he did not tamely watch the Viceroy's movements. Having left a strong garrison at *Lima*, he sent forward six hundred men to *Truxillo*, whither he himself repaired. Thence he marched to *San Miguel*, at which place the Viceroy would gladly have met him had he not been compelled to yield to the wishes of his adherents, who clamoured to be led into the upper country, where they might hope to be reinforced by the commander of *Popayan*. Pizarro arrived at *San Miguel* to find the enemy gone, and he lost not a moment in pursuing him. He reached the skirts of a mountain chain into which the Viceroy had entered only a few hours before. It was late in the evening, but Pizarro sent forward his lieutenant Carbajal with some light troops to overtake him. Carbajal overtook the slumbering enemy enveloped amongst the mountains at midnight. But one of his men had incautiously sounded a trumpet, and the Viceroy and his followers thus aroused poured a volley into the ranks of their pursuers, who were thrown into confusion and forced to retreat.

Pizarro, greatly disconcerted at this miscarriage, again sent Carbajal forward in pursuit of the Viceroy to retrieve his mistake. But the latter had profited by the delay, and it was many days before he was again overtaken. His baggage, however, fell into the hands of his pursuer.

He and his men had to snatch such sleep as they could with their arms at hand and their steeds saddled beside them. At length they reached the desert of *Paltos*, a quagmire intersected by numerous streams, and which offered the most difficult passage for the weary and half-starved horses. Nor did Pizarro and his men suffer less than the Viceroy whom they were pursuing. It was a repetition of his trials on the expedition to the *Amazons*.

At length Blasco Nuñez entered *Quito*, which place, however, he quickly left, taking the road for *Pastos*, which was within the jurisdiction of Benalcazar, on whose support he mainly relied. Soon after his departure, Pizarro entered *Quito*, where he halted only long enough to refresh his men. His advance guard, tired and powerless, came up with the rear of the Viceroy's force at *Pastos*; but the latter could not bring his soldiers to reverse the position they had so long been accustomed to, by attacking their pursuers. On the contrary, they profited by the exhaustion of the enemy to hasten their retreat. Pizarro, thus thwarted, did not care to trust himself further within the territories of Benalcazar, and made a counter-march on *Quito*, where his troops found time to rest, and where he received valuable reinforcements. Some of these were, however, soon despatched under Carbajal to suppress an insurrection which had broken out in the south.

The Viceroy had now reached *Popayan*, but with only one-fifth of the followers with whom he had begun his march, which had extended over two hundred leagues, and which had been marked by sufferings rarely equalled even in Spanish America. Still, however, when joined by Benalcazar, he could muster four hundred men. Pizarro, anxious to bring the struggle to a conclusion, had recourse to stratagem to effect this end. He himself, with the greater portion of his force, quitted *Quito*, under a pretence of joining his lieutenant in the south, but leaving a garrison in the above-named city. On

these tidings reaching the Viceroy's camp, Blasco Nuñez, quitting *Popayan*, moved rapidly on *Quito*, where, however, he found himself confronted by Pizarro's entire force, entrenched in a strong position. In his endeavour to surprise Pizarro in his rear by means of a night-march, he put himself at a fatal disadvantage, having
1546. been misled by guides as to the distance to be traversed, and his men being exhausted, he entered *Quito*, the inhabitants of which city had declared themselves in favour of Pizarro.

In this emergency the Viceroy was recommended by his chief officer to try the effect of negotiation; but his haughty Castilian spirit rebelled at the notion of parleying with traitors. Calling his troops together, he addressed to them a few courageous words before he led them forth to fight on behalf of his king. The battle which ensued, as might be expected, when both sides had staked their all on the issue, was a desperate one. The cavalry, which was equally matched on either side, met in deadly shock, and when their lances were shivered the cavaliers fought with axe and sword. But the Viceroy's horses, worn out by the march of the previous night, were unequal to the work, and the victory was not long in suspense. Blasco Nuñez and his followers, however, did all that brave men could do, until he was at length overwhelmed by numbers. His companions having fallen one by one, and he being wounded, the stroke of a battle-axe caused him to fall from his horse. He was then pointed out to the brother of Carbajal, the cavalier whom in a fit of passion he had so rashly struck with his poniard at *Lima*. In this unhappy situation the proud Viceroy's career terminated by a stroke from the sabre of a negro slave. Thus ended the decisive day, and Gonzalo Pizarro was for the time being master of *Peru*.

This victory on the part of the colonists over the crown was looked upon as finally sealing the fate of the

obnoxious ordinances, and was the cause of great joy throughout the country. Pizarro, for a time, rested in *Quito*, where he and his followers enjoyed the excesses which in those times usually succeeded excessive military privations and fatigues. But Gonzalo was no longer merely a victorious soldier. Upon him now rested the cares of state, for which, unfortunately, he was fitted neither by education nor by natural powers. He rewarded his followers by grants of land, and made various provisions for the welfare of the natives; but he does not seem to have entertained the idea of establishing an independent authority, since he was careful to collect the dues belonging to the crown. Indeed he urged upon the colonists so to conduct themselves as by their behaviour to bring about a revocation of the hated ordinances. In July 1546 he left *Quito* for the south, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm. At *Lima* he was met in triumph, the archbishop, with three other bishops of that place, riding by his side; while to crown his good fortune, he at the same time received the intelligence of the success of his arms in the south. From *Quito* to *Chili* his authority was undisputed, while the mines of *Potosí* supplied him with a kingly revenue. Had he been a man of as much force of character as a politician as he had proved himself to be as a military leader, he was now in a position to have founded a dynasty of Pizarros in *Peru*. Every Spanish soldier throughout the land obeyed him; the colonists looked on him as their champion; whilst he was no less the master of the fleet on the *Pacific*. No hostile force coming from Spain could encounter him until it should have rounded the Straits of *Magellan* or forced a passage across the primeval forests of *Brazil*. Yet the youngest Pizarro lacked the moral courage which till this supreme moment of its fortunes had never failed his upstart house; and the result was that, instead of anticipating the colonial revolution by two centuries and a half, he who had

gone too far to hope for any safety save in defiance, determined to submit himself to Spain. The result was that, without sending a fleet through the Straits of *Magellan* or an army through the forests of *Brazil*, Pizarro was conquered by the address of one man, whose services the Emperor was enabled to command in this dire emergency. That man was the President Gasca.

CHAPTER XI.

PERU; THE PRESIDENT GASCA.

1545-1550.

THE aged lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro, Carbajal, gave him perhaps the wisest advice when he urged him to renounce his allegiance; pointing out that in point of fact he had already done so, since he had encountered the Viceroy in battle, slain him, and assumed his authority. He had no favour or mercy to expect from the crown, and had but one course before him, to proclaim himself king, supported as he was by the troops and the people. He advised him likewise to unite himself in marriage to the female representative of the *Incas*. But Gonzalo Pizarro, though he had fought against the Viceroy for what he deemed his own rights and the rights of others, was still at heart loyal to the crown. The course he determined to adopt was the halting one of sending an embassy to Spain, to vindicate his proceedings, and to ask a confirmation of his authority in succession of his brother as Viceroy of Peru. Meanwhile news had reached the mother country of the disorders proceeding in that land. The Spanish Government heard with dismay of the effect produced by the promulgation of the ordinances and of the unyielding conduct of the Viceroy.

In 1545 the prince afterwards known as Philip II., then regent of Spain during the absence of his father, called together a special council to deliberate on the measures to be pursued for the purpose of restoring

order in *Peru*. The difficulties to be encountered in the way of suppressing the rebellion by force naturally presented themselves to the conclave, and it was accordingly resolved to endeavour to bring about an arrangement by conciliatory measures. A full pardon was to be granted to all such colonists as should make their submission, and due steps were to be taken to make them perceive that it was to their interest, as it was their duty, to return to their allegiance; and fortunately a man was found to carry out this policy whose single agency was of more avail than that of a fleet or an army. Pedro de la Gasca was of the ecclesiastical profession, but had nevertheless borne arms. He had filled with distinction several civil offices in Spain, and his discretion no less than his ability pointed him out for the position of agent to the crown in *Peru*, one of the most responsible missions ever confided to any individual. Gasca seems indeed, according to the estimate of all writers of history, to have been a model of character—courteous in demeanour but firm in his course, as beseemed a man who was strong in his rectitude of purpose. The choice made by the prince and his council was immediately ratified by the Emperor, who wrote to Gasca an autograph letter confirming it.

Gasca at once accepted the mission proposed to him, merely stipulating for powers sufficient to admit of its full success. The powers which he demanded were indeed so great that the ministers had not the authority to grant them; but on an appeal to the Emperor, who was by this time in Flanders, they were at once conceded. Gasca, now armed with greater authority than had ever hitherto been entrusted to a vassal of the Spanish crown, set sail for *Peru* early in 1546, under the title of President of the Royal Audience.* So modest was his train that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him. Under the above

* Fernandez, lib. II. c. 18.

title he was placed at the head of every department in the colony. He indeed had the warrant to exercise the same powers as the Emperor himself; since he might declare war, appoint to all offices, and pardon all offences. He was, however, to proclaim at once the revocation of the obnoxious ordinances, and he might banish from *Peru* such ecclesiastics and others as might not be reached by the temporal authority. He had unlimited orders on the treasuries both of *Panamá* and *Peru*, and was furnished with letters to the chief authorities requiring their support. The Emperor and his advisers were safe in confiding these unbounded powers on a single-minded man, whose only worldly ambition was the bishopric which was held out to him, and which he declined to accept until he should have returned after fulfilling his mission.

In July of the above-mentioned year Gasca landed in the New World, where he was met by the intelligence of the defeat and death of the Viceroy and of the absolute supremacy of Gonzalo Pizarro. In this perplexing situation he steered his course with undeviating prudence and consummate skill. At *Nombre de Dios* he presented himself before the trusted partisan of Pizarro, to whose care that place had been committed, not with the military surroundings befitting the all-powerful *alter ego* of the Emperor, but as a humble ecclesiastic to whose admittance there could be no objection. Never probably in the course of history has the subtle effect of the sentiment of loyalty been more remarkably manifested. There was nothing in the appearance of Gasca or of his humble retinue to attract especial attention; yet no sooner was his mission known than Pizarro's trusted officer was at his feet placing his powers in his hand. Once within the stronghold of the enemy, Gasca's moral influence was forthwith felt. In contact with his singular powers—not those of mere oratory, but based on the foundation of the highest moral and

secular authority,—the position of the officer who merely held his office in virtue of an order from the rebel Pizarro was at once untenable. Indeed Mexia does not seem to have made the slightest effort at impeding the progress of the President, who had with him the consolatory balm of pardon for all repentant rebels.

This first step gained was everything for the mission of Gasca. His advent was announced not, as had been that of the late Viceroy, as a despoiler of the colonists and a stern enforcer of obnoxious decrees. On the contrary, he came as a messenger of peace and conciliation, bearing an unheard-of admission on the part of the crown in justification of the colonists,—since the ordinances were repealed,—and granting full pardon for past offences to all such as should again declare themselves loyal subjects. Indeed Mexia, like Gonzalo Pizarro himself, and like most of his followers, had found himself a rebel owing to accidental circumstances and certainly not by design; and he was only too glad to avail himself of so unexpectedly favourable an opportunity of extricating himself from the disagreeable position into which circumstances had led him. Gonzalo, by rejecting the advice of his lieutenant Carbajal, had failed to bind all his followers to himself by the common tie of their being compromised rebels.

Having thus acquired so important an ally on land, the next step of the sagacious President was to obtain the command of Pizarro's fleet of twenty-two vessels which lay in the harbour of *Panamá*. It was under the command of Hinojosa, an officer high in the confidence of Pizarro, and who was as loyal to him as was compatible with his supreme loyalty to his sovereign. But Pizarro was now destined to find that the same arts which had been employed to corrupt his own loyalty to the crown might again be made use of to seduce others from their loyalty to him. Mexia was employed by the President for this purpose. In the

conflict of duties which were claimed from him on either side, Hinojosa asked to be allowed to see the powers of the President, and he likewise inquired whether they gave him authority to confirm Pizarro in the post he held. The President evaded the question; whereupon Hinojosa sent to Pizarro to acquaint him with his arrival and with the object of his coming.

But from the moment when Gasca had received a favourable opportunity for stating his mission, his success was practically assured, carrying with him as he did such ample moral force and such intellectual capacity to wield it. The same vessel which bore to Pizarro the news of his advent, carried likewise a Dominican who had been entrusted by Gasca with manifestoes proclaiming the glad tidings of the abolition of the ordinances, and of a free pardon to all rebels who should return to their obedience. The President likewise sent letters to the prelates and to the civic corporations. In short, the whole discipline, civil and ecclesiastic, in which the Spaniard of the day had been trained, was at once called into the service of the man whose singular ability proved him to be more than able to cope with the Dictator of *Peru*, who directed its civil government and commanded its army and fleet.

Gasca meanwhile calmly awaited the results of the measures he had adopted, and his courtesy and intelligence did not fail to have their due effect upon those with whom he was thrown into contact. Several cavaliers of *Panamá*, as well as officers of the squadron, offered him their services, and with their assistance the President was enabled to open communication with the Spanish authorities in *Guatemala* and *Mexico*, whom he required to abstain from holding any communication with the insurgents in *Peru*. By these means he acquired powerful allies for the Spanish Government. Lastly, he prevailed on the governor of *Panamá* to supply him with a ship, in which he despatched a letter

from the Emperor to Gonzalo Pizarro, and likewise one from himself. The former was couched in the most conciliatory terms, making every allowance for the difficult circumstances in which the rebel chief had been placed, and throwing the blame on the Viceroy. In his own letter the President significantly remarked that the circumstances which had led Pizarro into his present position no longer existed, since all that the colonists had required when they appealed to arms was now conceded; it only remained, therefore, to show their loyalty by resuming their dutiful obedience. Should the contest be further prolonged, it would be open rebellion against the crown, without the pretext of an excuse; and against bringing about such a struggle the President invoked Pizarro's sense of honour and duty. These important despatches, with others, were entrusted by the President to an adherent on whom he could rely, and who was likewise charged to distribute further manifestoes.

Some months passed away whilst Gasca and the governor of *Panamá* still awaited the decisive reply from *Peru*. Indeed Pizarro's situation was such as to make him hesitate. He was still comparatively a young man, being forty-two years of age, and he found himself in the most dazzling position which any Spaniard not born in the purple could hold, and to which, moreover, he fancied he had a right as being the successor of his brother. Were he to resign this he would not only lay down that position, but he would put himself in the absolute power of another, before whom he would doubtless be charged with crimes that might be held to cancel the offers of pardon for past offences conveyed to him by the Emperor and the President. He had learned with no small apprehension the coming of the latter; but he was so simple as to be misled by the unostentatious manner in which the President had made his appearance. He ignored alike his personal qualities

and the moral force which he represented. Having before him two plain roads, either of which might have led him into safety, if not into the ultimate realization of his ambition—that is to say, being free to choose either to make his submission to the President, or to appeal to arms against the crown,—he took the half-way course of keeping the President at a distance whilst he should meanwhile send an embassy to Spain to vindicate his past proceedings and solicit a confirmation of his authority, a course which could not but lead to his ruin.

Gasca was meanwhile put off by a letter, signed by seventy of the principal citizens of *Lima*, expressing their regret that he had arrived too late, and their opinion that, should he now continue his journey, his presence would only be the signal for the renewal of disturbance. But the result of Pizarro's embassy to Spain was widely different from that which he had anticipated. No sooner had his ambassador, Aldana, been admitted into the presence of the President at *Panamá* than the embassy was at an end. The envoy now for the first time learned the full powers of the President, and likewise the full nature of the concessions made by the crown to the colonists. The ambassador, though sincerely devoted to Pizarro, instantly showed the example of submitting to the crown, whilst he wrote to his chief at *Lima* earnestly counselling him to do likewise. This example was followed by Hinojosa, the governor of *Panamá*, by whose submission Pizarro's fleet was placed at the disposal of Gasca. On November 19th, 1546, Hinojosa and his officers, having delivered up their commissions, received them back from Gasca on taking the oath of allegiance.

Possessed of *Panamá* and the fleet, Gasca could now afford to take more active steps. He raised men and collected supplies, taking care that the soldiers were duly paid. He had no difficulty in obtaining loans on credit, and he made use of his powers to summon assist-

ance from *Guatemala* and *Mexico*. Much good-will was shown on all sides in getting his expedition ready; but up to the latest moment the President employed every means in his power to induce Pizarro, ere it should be too late, to make his submission to the crown. With this object he sent in advance Aldana, with four ships, to the coast of *Peru*, with authenticated copies of his commission to be delivered to Pizarro. That chief, who as yet but dimly discerned the effect which was being slowly but surely produced by the proclamation of Gasca, called his councillors to aid him in determining what reply should be sent, or what course adopted, in reference to the letters of the Emperor and the President. His two chief advisers were Carbajal, a warrior of fourscore years, and Cepeda, a lawyer who had come out to the New World as one of the Audience of the late Viceroy. The former, with the wisdom of years, clearly discerned the nature of the situation and advised his master accordingly; but the lawyer, knowing as he did that he had appeared in arms against the Viceroy, whom he had been sent out to advise, trembled at the situation in which he should find himself were Pizarro to yield, and therefore used all his skill in persuading him to adopt a defiant course. Unfortunately for all concerned, his counsel prevailed.

It was not long after the departure of the messenger of Gasca, by whom Pizarro had sent back the rejection of his terms, that the latter received news of the defection from his cause both of the governor of *Panamá* and of his ambassador to Spain; and these unwelcome tidings were followed by certain indications that they were but the precursors of similar defections from his cause in other quarters. In fact, he was enveloped by a cloud of enemies in which quarter soever he might look. Gonzalo Pizarro, however, though wounded by the desertion of his friends on whom he had relied, yet, having thrown in his lot with the rebels who should adhere to him,

determined to trust to the hazard of the die. He summoned his captains to his aid, reminding them of their obligations, and that their interests were identical with his own. He enforced levies in the capital, and soon saw himself at the head of a thousand men. He was supported by the veteran warrior Carbajal, and literally no money was spared in equipping his army. It was a desperate cause; and Pizarro and his men were reckless. There was a prevailing impression that his cause was a losing one, and consequently defections from his ranks were frequent.

The squadron under Aldana (Pizarro's ambassador to Spain) was now off *Callao*, the commander having been welcomed at all the ports of *Peru* at which he had landed, receiving at the same time numerous promises of assistance on the part of those who were nominally Pizarro's officers. Aldana, who had no rival ships to oppose him, caused copies of the President's manifestoes to be circulated amongst the citizens of *Lima*, and they were not long in producing their effect, for indeed few persons there had been aware of the full powers entrusted to Gasca. The only general thought was for each one to secure his own safety. It was a case of *sauve qui peut*. Some escaped to the forests; some took refuge with the fleet; and others, essaying to escape, did not succeed in doing so, but fell into the hands of the subordinates of Carbajal, from whom they had little to hope. In this dilemma, Pizarro, seeing that whilst he should remain at *Lima* every day would add to the desertions from his cause, resolved to occupy *Arequipa*, where, however, owing to the frequent desertions, he found that his force did not muster more than five hundred men.

Pizarro and his forces having quitted *Lima*, the gates of the city were forthwith opened to Aldana, as the forerunner of the President. Gasca himself, however, had sailed from *Panamá* on April 10th, 1547. He encountered a stormy voyage, during which he displayed

June his habitual coolness and perseverance. In due time
1547. his storm-battered vessels arrived at *Tumbez*, where he was received with open arms; indeed thenceforth he was master of the situation, and had only to instruct his officers to execute his orders. He made his way towards *Xauza*, where he was later joined by reinforcements from all quarters. On his arrival there the war was, in point of fact, to all appearance terminated, for he found advices to the effect that Gonzalo Pizarro was hemmed in on every side. In reply to the offers of service which he received, he had given a general rendezvous of *Caxamalca*, to which place he despatched Hinojosa with the soldiers at his disposal, with orders to take command of the levies and to join him at *Xauza*. He then proceeded towards the same place by way of *Truxillo*. The President now found himself in sufficient strength to counter-order the force which he had summoned to his assistance from *Guatemala* and *Mexico*.

Meanwhile Pizarro had come to the determination to evacuate *Peru* and fall back upon *Chili*, which territory was beyond the jurisdiction of the President. But the passes lying on his route were held by Centeno with a force greater than his own, and who had declared for the President. Centeno had been his subordinate officer, and he tried, in the first place, the effect of negotiation. This, however, leading to no result, he marched against his force, which was encamped on *Lake Titicaca*. On
1547. October 26th the hostile forces met. Pizarro's troops were about half as numerous as those of his opponent, his cavalry only numbering one-third of the horsemen opposed to him; but this inequality was compensated for in that of the opposing leaders. Whilst Centeno was so ill as to be compelled to delegate the command of his troops to others and to await the result off the field in a litter, his opponents were under the skilled leadership of Pizarro and Carbajal. Pizarro himself commanded the cavalry, placing himself at its head in a gorgeously-

decorated suit of mail, which made him the most conspicuous object on the field.

Having arrived within firing distance of each other, the veteran Carbajal, deeming his situation favourable, resolved to halt and to receive the enemy's attack. The experienced officers on either side saw that their advantage lay in keeping back, but whereas the trained musketeers on Pizarro's side were under the immediate control of the veteran by whom they had been drilled, the impetuous soldiers of Centeno were not only without his restraining voice, but were further urged on by a senseless friar, who, forgetting that he was not in the pulpit, took upon himself to declare, in the words of ancient Scripture, that the Lord had delivered the enemy into their hands. His exclamation was premature, but it had the effect of urging Centeno's soldiers forward and of bringing them within the full force of the opposing fire. Carbajal restrained his men until their antagonists were within a hundred yards of them. The volley which was then fired decided the day. Two hundred men are said to have fallen at the first discharge, which was followed by a second. On the other part of the field, where the cavalry contended, the result was different. Centeno's horse being vastly superior in number, rode down their opponents, and Pizarro himself, though performing everything that skill and valour could effect, was compelled to spur his charger out of the scene of struggle. He was pursued, and had to defend himself in single combat until he was rescued by some of the men of Carbajal. The victorious cavalry tried again and again in vain to break the flank of Carbajal's arquebusiers. The victory remained with Pizarro, who, with his followers, sat down to the feast which had been prepared in their opponents' tents. It was estimated that more than two-thirds of Centeno's men were killed or wounded; he himself escaped by flight. After this victory, Pizarro, being now recruited by considerable

numbers, resolved to make his way to *Cuzco*, where he was received by the inhabitants in triumph, and where he resolved for the present to establish his quarters.

As might be expected, the unlooked-for news of Pizarro's victory at *Huarina* fell like a thunderbolt on the court of the hitherto successful President. Gasca, however, was careful to put a good face on his disappointment, whilst he lost no time in adopting such measures as were best calculated to repair the disaster. Taking advantage of his own superiority of force, he resolved to march without delay against his opponent. He had before him a difficult and dreary march, but in its course he was cheered not only by the assurance that Pizarro's victory had not had the effect of dispiriting the country, but also by the arrival in his camp, from various quarters, of several distinguished captains—of Benalcazar, the conqueror of *Quito*; of Valdivia, with laurels fresh from the conquest of *Chili*; and of Centeno, who had escaped through the forest and *sierra*, and who, restored to health, was burning to retrieve his late mischance.

1548. It was the spring of the following year when Gasca mustered his forces for the final march on *Cuzco*. He now had two thousand men, which, it must be remembered, was a larger number than any European force that had hitherto been assembled in arms in *Peru*. They were commanded by Hinojosa. The first obstacle of importance which that officer had to encounter was the passage of the river *Apurimac*, one of the most considerable tributaries of the *Amazons*, and the bridges over which had been destroyed by order of Pizarro. Gasca, however, being apprised of this, had sent forward to select a suitable spot from which to throw a bridge across the stream, which was found at *Cotopampa*, whilst materials for a like purpose were laid down at two other points with a view to misleading the enemy.

The officer sent on in advance to *Cotopampa* had received positive commands to delay the actual construc-

tion of the bridge until he should be in sufficient strength to carry it through forthwith to completion; but he was so zealous that he took it upon himself to disregard his orders and to set about the operation at once. The bridge itself was to be one of those structures common in the Northern *Andes*, formed of cables of osier, thrown from side to side of the bank, and across which planks are laid. As such a bridge is swayed to and fro or upwards and downwards by the tramp of men, by burdens being borne across it, or by the wind, it is apt to inspire a feeling of insecurity both on the part of the traveller and on that of the onlooker from the shore, but it is in reality quite as safe a means of transit as is many a more solid structure. Gasca having heard with alarm that the work was going on, hastened his march in order to support his officer; but ere he had reached the river, information was brought to him that the enemy had cut the cables on the opposite bank. Valdivia was accordingly sent forward with two hundred men, whilst the main body hurried its pace. That energetic officer, on reaching the stream, at once procured some native boats, by means of which he passed his men over to the other side. He being now in considerably greater force than Pizarro's men, the latter retreated with all speed to *Cuzco*, to report the affair to their chief.

Pizarro meanwhile, like the typical soldier of fortune of that age, had been enjoying the hour of sunshine, forgetful of the past, and not too much troubled about the future. Although no one ever questioned his leadership, he was not a leader to dispense with counsel; and his two chief advisers were still Cepeda and Carbajal. The advice he had of late received from each seems to have been the reverse of that which they had respectively given him when it was a question of the terms in which he should reply to the letters of the Emperor and of Gasca. Whilst Carbajal on the one hand now advised him to abandon *Cuzco* and retreat to the mountains,

leaving an impoverished city behind him, he was urged by Cepeda on the other hand to make terms with the President. But Pizarro rejected either advice. He was, in fact, determined to stand the hazard of the die. The fortune which had stood his friend under the desperate circumstances in which he had been deserted by Orellana on the *Amazons*, and which had lately come to his rescue against enormous odds in his late engagement, might still stand him in good stead.

But in fact his fortune in these later times was in the sagacious advice and experience of Carbajal. It was the forethought and skill of that veteran that had won the victory of *Huarina*, and had Pizarro now listened to his voice he might still have continued lord of *Peru*. When the tidings came that the enemy were across the stream, the veteran saw that the moment had arrived which was to decide the struggle. He felt that he was the man to profit by the opportunity, and he pleaded with his commander to be allowed to go forward to the scene of action. In an evil hour for himself Pizarro refused his request, saying that he could not spare him so far away. Meanwhile the work of the bridge was rapidly pushed forward, and long ere the young cavalier who had been put in the place of Carbajal had reached his destination, the President's force was in a position to defy him.

There was now only a question of the choice of a spot on which the final battle was to be fought. Pizarro determined to abandon *Cuzco* and to await his opponents in a valley five leagues distant. Even at this moment the President, having crossed the *Andes* and the river *Apurimac*, and being in force greatly superior to that of his antagonist, showed his utter absence of personal ill-feeling towards the latter, and also perhaps his appreciation of the difficulties which had brought him into his present position, by giving him one last chance of safety. By an emissary of his own he renewed the assurance of pardon to Pizarro in case he should lay down his arms

and submit. Such at least is the statement of two Spanish historians, and it is in accordance with the character of the President. At length, on the morning of the 8th of April, the two opposing forces came within sight of each other. The numbers on either side were the reverse of large according to our ideas of the present day; but numbers do not always denote the importance of a battle, and we should remember that a similarly small European force at *Plassey* decided the fate of Hindostan. It may be remarked that the native Peruvians, for the most part, espoused the cause of Pizarro.

The President wisely left the conduct of the battle to his military officers, who were perfectly competent for the purpose, and he showed his habitual good sense in withdrawing, with his priests and civilians, out of the immediate range of action. The commanders on his side, Hinojosa and Valdivia, were a match for the military skill of Carbajal; and Pizarro himself had more in him of the daring, dauntless cavalier than of the strategic leader. As he had faced the situation with all its consequences plainly set before him, resolving fully to abide them, we cannot bestow much sympathy upon him in his present plight, though we must admire his unshaken courage and constancy. At the decisive moment of his fate he had taken the advice of Cepeda in resisting, in opposition to that of Carbajal; and it was the wretch Cepeda who now betrayed him by galloping over to the enemy in the face of both armies. But this act, although it was contagious, perhaps did Pizarro no considerable harm, for his fate was already sealed.

The leaders on either side gave the word for the advance; but the humane President, anxious to spare the shedding of blood, ordered his men to halt, since the rebel host from its frequent desertions was evidently falling to pieces. The Spaniards on Pizarro's side deserted him in various directions; some went to seek

pardon from the President ere it should be too late; others made for the mountains. Pizarro himself, seeing that there was but one thing for him to do, gave up his sword to the first officer of rank whom he encountered, and by him he was conducted into the presence of the President. The latter, we are told, inquired severely why he had thrown the country into such confusion? why he had revolted? why he had slain the Viceroy? why he had usurped the government? and finally, why he had refused the repeated offers of grace? On his reply, in which he attempted to justify himself, he was ordered into close confinement. Thus terminated the culminating encounter between the royal forces and those of Pizarro, in which the latter on the plain of *Xaquizaguana*, like those of the Assyrian of old, though "unsmote by the sword," yet "vanished like snow."

Gasca, having sent an officer to *Cuzco* to restrain the excesses which were to be expected, had next to concern himself with the trial of Pizarro and of Carbajal. It was of course a mere form, since they were taken in the act of opposing the royal forces in arms; and there could be no question of mercy, since they had both failed to avail themselves of the offers of the royal clemency repeatedly made. They were accordingly executed; Carbajal, who is said to have been eighty-four years of age, receiving his fate with the utmost indifference, and Pizarro meeting death with the dignified courage which he had ever shown. The estates of both were confiscated. It is satisfactory to add that the traitor Cepeda, though his head was not placed upon the block, yet was not allowed to go free. The President was indeed urged to send him to execution, since it had been by his advice that Pizarro had first refused the offers of grace; but Gasca refrained from doing so on account of the service which Cepeda had rendered the royal cause by his opportune desertion. He was accordingly sent a prisoner to Spain, where he was tried

for high treason: during the progress of his trial he died in prison. It may be of interest here to remark that the fate which attended so many of the conquerors of *Peru*, spared neither Centeno, Hinojosa, nor Valdivia, the three foremost leaders on the side of the President, all of whom were soon afterwards cut off. The President thought it sufficient, in the interests of justice and of example, to execute Acosta and three or four other cavaliers who had surrendered with Pizarro. He then broke up his camp and marched to *Cuzco*.

On his arrival at the late capital of the *Incas*, Gasca had before him the task of winding up the affairs incident to the rebellion. Some dozen cavaliers, having been tried and condemned, were executed, whilst others were sentenced to minor punishments; but on the whole, considering the dimensions of the rebellion and the obstinacy of the insurgents in refusing grace, the President certainly does not seem to have acted with undue severity: a stern example was needed. He had now to apportion the rewards that were due to his followers, who, as usually happens in such cases, were not bashful in claiming them. Retiring from *Cuzco* to a neighbouring valley, attended only by the Archbishop of *Lima* and by his secretary, Gasca now devoted three months to a patient examination of the respective claims laid before him, and to elaborating a fair scheme of compensation.

This heavy task completed, the President could now retire to *Lima*, leaving his written decision with the archbishop, to be by him communicated to the army. The effect produced by the document on those respecting whose interests it was to decide, was of course one of disappointment. Each man valued his own services at his own price, and all were displeased at the fancied unfair preference given to others. It required some trouble and even some examples on the part of the commander at *Cuzco* to repress the tumult of discontent

thus occasioned. Gasca was received by the inhabitants of *Lima* not only with the manifestations of loyalty which were his due as representing the crown, but likewise with every demonstration of gratitude and affection. His entry into the city was, however, strictly in the character of a priest and civilian, and no way in that of a warrior.

At *Lima*, the capital, a fresh series of business awaited him, for he had now to devise a new government to replace that of Pizarro; but being himself *facile princeps* in affairs, and being accompanied by able judges, he was enabled soon satisfactorily to despatch an immense amount of business. Nor were the natives neglected, the President devoting his sedulous attention to bettering their condition. He did not omit to send his own agents into different parts of the country, to inspect the allotments and ascertain the manner in which the Peruvians were treated, taking their statements from themselves. As the result of the information thus obtained, Gasca and his council drew up a system of taxation for the Peruvians, which might be a standard of appeal. He did not see his way to relieving them, under present circumstances, from the obligation of personal service, which proposed measure had indeed been the cause of the recent rebellion; but he was careful to provide that their service should be less burdensome than that which they had endured under the sway of the *Incas*. Their condition, in short, though not in all respects such as philanthropy might wish, was put on as good a footing as colonial exigencies might admit of. Indeed all the firmness of the government was needed to admit of the new regulations being peacefully acquiesced in.

Gasca likewise introduced reforms into the municipal government of the cities; and by financial and other arrangements placed the administration of the colony on such a basis as might afford a fair field for his successors

to work on. He had been fifteen months in *Lima* and nearly three years in *Peru*; and his work being now accomplished, he was able to turn his face toward Spain, with the satisfaction of having been enabled to pay off the loan he had contracted for the war, exceeding nine hundred thousand *pesos*. He had, moreover, saved a million and a half *ducats* for the Government. The President Gasca had indeed proved himself fully deserving of the confidence which had been reposed in him by the Emperor and his advisers. He was a rare instance even amongst the best governors or statesmen of any country or of any period—one who, like General Gordon in our own time, was unconventional and utterly indifferent to the allurements of wealth, or indeed to any other call but that of honour and duty. Before his departure one more instance of his purity of character—if one were needed—was afforded. The Indian *caciques*, conscious of the benefits which he had rendered their people, and conscious also of the value which all Spaniards hitherto had placed upon the precious metals, offered him a large amount of gold plate in token of their gratitude. On Gasca's natural refusal to accept it, the poor *caciques* feared they had fallen under his displeasure. This is not the instance referred to. A number of the colonists, no less grateful for the same reasons, wished to show their esteem in a like manner, and made up a purse for the President of fifty thousand *castellanos*. There could be no harm, they said, in his accepting this on leaving, as it could not be offered with a view to induce favour for the future. When the President returned it, the colonists, without his knowledge, concealed twenty thousand *castellanos* on board his vessel, which sum, on his arrival in Spain, not wishing to offend them by returning the donative, he distributed amongst the most needy relatives of the donors whom he could discover.

In January 1550 the President embarked for *Panamá*, 1550.

being followed to the shore by crowds of persons of all ranks and ages, who were alike anxious to render him this last mark of their esteem. In March he was enabled to convey his treasure across the Isthmus, and arrived in safety at *Nombre de Dios*. There he equipped a fleet of nineteen vessels to transport himself and the royal treasure to Spain. Four years had elapsed since his departure from Seville. So delighted was every one, from the highest to the lowest, at the complete success of his mission, that Gasca was summoned to attend the Emperor at Flanders, where, after profuse acknowledgments of sincere imperial gratitude, he received the only material worldly reward agreeable to him, in the shape of the bishopric of Palencia, at which place he passed the remainder of his life.

NOTE.—Chapters VI., VII., X., and XI. of vol. I. are founded on "The History of the Conquest of Peru;" by William H. Prescott. Bentley. 1850.

On "The Spanish Conquest in America;" by Arthur Helps. John W. Parker & Son. 1855.

On "History of America;" by William Robertson.

On "*Histoire des Etablissemens des Européens dans les deux Indes*;" par Raynal (Abbé G. F.)

On "Life of Pizarro;" by Sir Arthur Helps. 1869.

On "*Historia general del Peru*;" Garcilasso de la Vega.

On "*Relacion de los descubrimientos de F. Pizarro y D. de Almagro*;" Navarrete, vol. V.

And on "*History of the New World*;" by Girolamo Benzoni.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ARAUCANIAN WAR.

1550-1556.

THE Araucanians inhabit the delightful region between the *Andes* and the sea, and between the rivers *Bio-bio* and *Valdivia*. They derive the appellation of Araucanians from the province of *Arauco*. They pride themselves on being called by a native word which signifies "the free." As a race they are rather tall, muscular, and well proportioned. Their complexions are of a reddish brown, but clearer than that of other native Americans. Their round faces are animated by small eyes full of expression. They have scarcely any beard, and the little hair which grows on their faces is carefully removed. Their women are delicately formed, and many of them are very handsome. Such are their good constitutions, and so healthy is their mode of life, that they live to advanced age, and seldom begin to feel its infirmities before sixty or seventy. They are intrepid, animated, and patient in the endurance of fatigue. Enthusiastic lovers of liberty, they are jealous of their honour, courteous, hospitable, and faithful to their engagements; they are likewise grateful for services, and generous and humane towards their vanquished. These fine qualities are, however, shared by them with others of an opposite nature, namely, ignorance, and a proneness towards debauchery.

The Araucanians clothe themselves in short garments, as being best suited for war. Their dress is made of

wool, and consists of a shirt, a vest, short trousers, and a cloak or *poncho* similar to that worn throughout South America. The prevailing colour of their garments is turquoise blue. Their *ponchos* are of fine texture, and ornamented with coloured figures of flowers and animals wrought with much skill. They wear on their heads bands of embroidered wool, and round their bodies a girdle of the same material. The women are clad with much modesty and simplicity, their dress being entirely of wool, and consisting of a tunic, a girdle, and a short cloak. They live in scattered villages by the banks of rivers or in easily-irrigated plains. They have strong local attachments, each family preferring to live on the land inherited from its ancestors, and of which they cultivate a portion sufficient for their subsistence.

The political division of the Araucanian state is regulated with much intelligence. It is divided from north to south into four governments, called respectively the maritime country, the plain country, the foot of the *Andes*, and the *Andes*. Each government is divided into five provinces, and each province into nine counties. The state consists of three orders of nobility, each being subordinate to the other, and all having their respective vassals. They are the *Toquis*, the *Apo-Ulmenes*, and the *Ulmenes*. The *Toquis*, or governors, are four in number. They are independent of each other, but confederated for the public welfare. The *Arch-Ulmenes* govern the provinces under their respective *Toquis*. The *Ulmenes* govern the counties. The upper ranks, generally, are likewise comprehended under the term *Ulmenes*. The badge of the *Toqui* is a battle-axe. The *Apo-Ulmenes* and the *Ulmenes* carry staves with silver heads, the former having a ring of the same metal round the middle of the staff. These various dignities are hereditary in the male line, and proceed by primogeniture.

The code of laws obtaining amongst the Araucanians is primitive, being no more than unwritten usage. They

have for their object the preservation of liberty and of the established form of government. The subjects are not liable to a levy or to any kind of personal service, except in time of war; neither are they liable to be called upon to pay contributions to their chiefs. The love of liberty is so ingrained in the people that they cannot endure despotism, and they therefore oppose any attempt to extend the power of their rulers. Whenever the grand council determines to go to war they proceed to the election of a commander, to which dignity the *Toquis* have the first claim. The general is for the time being dictator, the other authorities taking the oath of obedience to him. On making war, messengers are despatched to the confederate tribes to inform them of the steps taken. The *Toqui*, or commander, directs the number of soldiers to be furnished by each government, and as each Araucanian is a soldier by birth, an army of five or six thousand men is raised without difficulty. The cavalry are armed with swords and lances; the infantry with pikes or clubs. Strange to say, this race of warriors had not acquired from their Spanish neighbours the art of making gunpowder, at least up to the beginning of the present century.

The Araucanians acknowledge a Supreme Being, the Universal Ruler; and they are all agreed in the belief of the immortality of the soul. Their year, which is solar, begins on the 22nd of December, corresponding to the same day of June in northern latitudes. The year is divided into twelve months, of thirty days each; and in order to complete the tropical year, they intercalate five days. They have, as in Europe, four seasons. The Araucanians cultivate successfully rhetoric, poetry, and medicine. They are polygamists, celibacy being considered as ignominious. Their principal food consists of grain and pulse. Indian corn and potatoes are much esteemed by them. The latter vegetable has been cultivated by their ancestors from time immemorial. They use but little

animal food or fish, although their rivers abound with the latter. Their usual drink is beer or cider, and they are extremely fond of wine. Their games are numerous and ingenious, and it is a fact worthy of notice, that amongst them is the game of chess, which was known to these warriors before the advent of the Spaniards. It is called *comican*, whilst their game of *quechu* has a great similarity to backgammon.

The Araucanians having resolved to send succours to the inhabitants of *Panco*, gave orders to their *Toqui* to set out forthwith to their assistance with four thousand men. In the year 1550 their general passed the *Bio-bio*, which river separates the Araucanian territory from that of the *Pancones*, and offered battle to the invaders. After the first discharge of musketry the Araucanians fell on the front and flanks of the Spaniards, who, forming themselves into a square, received their furious attacks with their accustomed valour, many falling on either side. The battle lasted for several hours, Valdivia having his horse killed under him. The Spaniards were thrown into disorder; but the Araucanians at length withdrew from the field on their general Aillavalu being slain. Valdivia, an experienced soldier, declared that he had never been exposed to such imminent danger, and he showed his respect for the valour and skill of his opponents by constructing a strong fortification, in expectation of a further attack.

No sooner were the Araucanians informed of the death of their general than they sent into the field a still more numerous army under the command of Lincoyan. In the following year the new *Toqui* marched against the Spaniards, who took shelter under the guns of their fortifications. Lincoyan, however, was a commander of the stamp of Fabius, and, finding his first attack unsuccessful, ordered a precipitate retreat—to the great surprise of Valdivia. So unexpected a result was ascribed to St. Iago, who was seen during the fray mounted on a white

horse and armed with a flaming sword. But this miracle, adds the candid ecclesiastical historian * from whom we quote, is not entitled to the greater credit from its having been so frequently repeated.

Valdivia being now freed from the terror of the Araucanians, applied himself with great diligence to building the new city, where he intended to establish his family. In the division of lands he reserved for himself the peninsula lying between the mouths of the rivers *Bio-bio* and *Andalien*. The city progressed rapidly, and he employed himself in regulating its internal police. His statutes discover much prudence and humanity respecting the treatment of the natives. Believing that the Araucanians were now daunted, he resolved to take the initiative in attacking them; and with this intention, in the year 1552, he passed the *Bio-bio* and proceeded to the river *Canten*. At the confluence of this stream with the *Damas* he founded another city, to which he gave the name of *Imperial*.

Carried away by his unopposed successes, he now displayed the customary liberality of the Spanish conqueror in disposing of the property which did not belong to him. Supposing that he had vanquished the most valiant nation of *Chili*, he assigned to his followers the surrounding district. To Villagran, his lieutenant, he made over the province of *Maquegua*, with thirty thousand inhabitants. Other officers obtained from eight to twelve thousand natives, with lands in proportion; whilst Alderete was despatched with sixty men to form a settlement on the shore of Lake *Laquen*. To this was given the name of *Villarica*, from the quantity of gold found near it. Valdivia himself, still undisturbed by the Araucanians, continued his march towards the south, where he founded his sixth city, which he called *Valdivia*, being the first Spanish conqueror who thus sought to perpetuate his name. This settlement, which, like *Im-*

* The Abbé Ignatius Molina.

perial, enjoyed but a brief existence, is now only represented by its fortress.

Valdivia, satisfied with his acquisitions, retraced his steps, and on his return march erected a fortress in each of the three provinces of *Puren*, *Tucapel*, and *Arauco*. Without reflecting on the enormous extent of country which he had to defend with so small a force, he on his return to *St. Iago* despatched Aguirre, with two hundred men, to conquer the provinces of *Cujo* and *Tucuman* on the eastern side of the *Andes*. In the province of *Encol* Valdivia founded his seventh and last city, to which he gave the name of the *City of the Frontiers*, an appellation which, although he could not have foreseen it, is singularly applicable to the position of its ruins to-day, situated as it is on the frontier of *Chili* and the *Argentine Republic*. On his return to *Conception* he sent Alderete to Spain with a large sum of money and an account of his conquests. He was to solicit for him in return the perpetual government of the conquered country, with the title of Marquis of *Arauco*.

Whilst Valdivia was employed in maturing his extensive plans, which included the opening up of a direct communication with Europe by way of the Straits of *Magellan*, there was a leading mind at work on the side of the Araucanians with a view to thwarting the schemes of the governor of *Chili*. An aged *Ulmen* of the province of *Arauco*, named Colocolo, having quitted his retirement, traversed the Araucanian provinces, inciting his countrymen to zeal towards the deliverance of their country. As a practical step towards this end, he explored them to make choice of a new general to replace the dilatory Lincoyan. The age and experience of Colocolo gave him weight with his countrymen; and, accordingly, the *Ulmenes*, who were already of his opinion, assembled to deliberate concerning the election. There were many competitors for the office of general; but all at length concurred in the selection of Colocolo,

which fell upon the *Ulmen* Caupolican, an officer whose subsequent career fully justified the choice.

The new general having assumed the axe which was the badge of his authority, immediately appointed as officers to serve under him each one of his competitors, and even his predecessor. The Araucanians had such confidence in their new *Toqui* that they clamoured to be led at once against the Spaniards; but their chief repressed this ardour until they should be in a suitable condition to meet them in the field. When they were so, he commenced his operations by a stratagem which was suggested by an accident. A party of eighty natives, allies of the Spaniards, were conducting forage to the neighbouring post of *Arauco*. For these, who fell into his hands, Caupolican substituted a similar number of his own men, whom he directed to keep their arms concealed in the bundles of grass, and to take possession of the gates of the fortress until he should come to their assistance. The stratagem succeeded so far that the guard was surprised and disarmed. The remainder of the garrison, however, succeeded in driving out the Araucanians and raising the drawbridge just as their countrymen approached. The fortress was then attacked, but unsuccessfully, when Caupolican determined to reduce the place by famine.

After several sallies, the Spaniards resolved to abandon the fort and to retire to *Puren*. Caupolican having destroyed this fortress, led his troops to attack that of *Tucapel*, the commander of which likewise retreated to *Puren*. This fort was also destroyed. No sooner had Valdivia, who was at that time in *Conception*, learned of the siege of *Arauco*, than he marched upon that place with such forces as he could muster. On approaching within a short distance of the enemy's encampment, he sent forward Diego del Oro to reconnoitre with ten horsemen. This detachment falling in with a party of Araucanians, were all slain and their heads

were suspended to trees. The Spanish soldiers, on arriving at the spot, were so filled with horror at the unlooked-for spectacle, that they were anxious to return. Their commander, too, felt some misgiving at having disregarded the advice of some of his senior officers, who had dissuaded him from advancing; but he nevertheless
1553 continued his march, and on the 3rd of December 1553 came in sight of the enemy's camp.

The two armies continued for a long time to observe each other. At length Mariantu, who commanded the right of the Araucanians, moved against the left of the Spaniards, who marched to meet him. This detachment was surrounded and cut in pieces, as was another which was sent to its assistance. The action soon became general, both sides displaying equal valour, and having an equally brave example in their respective commanders. The Araucanians, notwithstanding the slaughter made amongst them by the firearms of the enemy, continued to supply with fresh troops the places of those who were slain. At length, after a great loss, they were thrown into confusion and began to give way, notwithstanding the heroic exhortations of their leaders.

It was at this crisis that a young hero appeared upon the scene in the person of Lautaro, an Araucanian youth of sixteen years of age, whom Valdivia had formerly taken prisoner and caused to be baptised and made his page. Lautaro, quitting the Spaniards, loudly reproached his retreating countrymen, and exhorted them to continue the combat, as their opponents, spent with fatigue, were no longer able to resist them. At the same time grasping a lance, he led the way to victory, which at once declared itself for the Araucanians. Of the Spanish army only two escaped. These were Promaucians, who concealed themselves in a neighbouring wood.

Valdivia, seeing that all was lost, had retired with his chaplain to prepare for death. He was, however, pur-

sued and taken, and was brought before Caupolican. He pleaded humbly for his life, promising solemnly to quit *Chili* with all his followers. Lautaro interceded for his life, which the Araucanian general was disposed to grant; but whilst he was deliberating on the subject, an aged *Ulmen*, who had taken the measure of Spanish good faith towards natives, was so enraged to hear the talk of mercy that he lost his self-control. Calling out that they must be mad to trust the promises of an enemy who would laugh at his oaths so soon as he was free, he despatched Valdivia with a blow from his club. Caupolican was exasperated at this proceeding, but it was applauded by the majority of his officers. Thus fell the conqueror of *Chili*, a man endowed, unquestionably, with a great mind and with superior powers of organization and of governing, as well as with excellent military talents. The modern Chilians may look back with satisfaction upon the founder of their State as on one whose name is unstained by the horrible cruelties towards the natives which attach to the memories of the conquerors of *Peru*. Even at the time of the outbreak after the settlement at *St. Iago*, it is to Valdivia's credit that he merely cast the ringleaders into prison. Pizarro would have ruthlessly burned them.

This victory was celebrated, as may be supposed, with great rejoicings on the part of the Araucanians. When these were over, Caupolican, now arrayed in the armour of Valdivia, presented the young Lautaro to the national assembly as his lieutenant, and who was in future to command a separate force. Meanwhile Lincoyan fell in with a party of fourteen Spaniards, coming from *Imperial* to the assistance of Valdivia. Of these seven alone escaped to carry, severely wounded as they were, the news of the rout of Valdivia's force to the fort of *Puren*. The inhabitants of that place and of the *City of the Frontiers* upon this retired to *Imperial*. The people of *Villarica*, for their part, retired to *Valdivia*, thus leaving

only two places to be attacked by the Araucanians. Caupolican determined to besiege them, and committed to Lautaro the care of defending the northern frontier. The latter, with this view, fortified himself on the mountain of *Mariguenu*, on the road to *Arauco*, and which has on its summit a large plain dotted with trees.

Meanwhile the two Promaucians, who alone had escaped from the Spanish rout, had reached *Concepcion*, filling that city with consternation. The command now devolved upon Villagran, who, after making the necessary preparations, commenced his march for *Arauco*. He crossed the *Bio-bio* without opposition, but soon after encountered, in a narrow pass, a body of Araucanians, by whom he was stoutly opposed. After a three hours' fight, however, they were defeated, and withdrew towards the summit, where Lautaro's camp was pitched. Three troops of Spanish horse were ordered to clear the difficult passage, and after great labour arrived within a short distance of the summit. They were, however, received with an incessant shower of stones and arrows; whilst the Araucanians were at the same time exposed to a hot fire from musketry and from six field-pieces. The mountain was covered with smoke; but Lautaro, in the midst of the noise and confusion, did not lose his presence of mind. Perceiving that the advantage of the Spaniards lay in their field-pieces, he directed Leucoton, one of his bravest officers, to take possession of them, telling him not to show himself again until he should have done so. That brave warrior, being supported by a simultaneous attack by Lautaro, succeeded in capturing the whole of the cannon. The Spaniards, being thrown into disorder, took to flight, leaving, as is said, three thousand dead upon the field.

Villagran himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner; but it was owing to his desperate exertions to clear the pass during the retreat that any survived of his unfortunate army. The Araucanians lost on their

side about seven hundred men. They were too exhausted to pursue the Spaniards far. On reaching *Conception*, Villagran, deeming it impossible to defend the place, placed the old men, the women and children, on board of two ships which were in the harbour, with orders to the captains to take them to *Imperial* or to *Valparaiso*. With the remaining inhabitants he set out by land for *St. Iago*. Lautaro, having crossed the *Bio-bio*, found *Conception* deserted. It rewarded his army with a great booty, the result of its commerce and mines, and which the citizens had no time to remove. Having burned the houses and razed the citadel, the youthful victor returned in triumph to *Arauco*.

The commanders of the cities of *Imperial* and *Valdivia*, both of which were closely besieged by Caupolican, demanded succours of Villagran, who, notwithstanding his late losses, was still in a position to send them a sufficient number of troops for their defence. Under these circumstances, the Araucanian general, despairing of gaining possession of these places, retired with his forces to join Lautaro. Villagran taking advantage of the retreat of the enemy, ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of *Imperial*, to which place he transported all the provisions that remained. To these calamities of war was at this time added pestilence. In the above-mentioned incursions made by Villagran, some Spanish soldiers conveyed for the first time to the Araucanians the terrible contagion of small-pox, which made enormous ravages amongst them. It is said that in one district, containing twelve thousand persons, not more than one hundred escaped with life.

Whilst the duty of opposing the Araucanians demanded all the efforts and attention of Villagran, that officer was on the point of being compelled to turn his arms against his own countrymen. *Valdivia* had left behind him written instructions, to be opened in the case of his death. By these his succession devolved in turn on Alderete,

Aguirre, and Villagran. The first being absent in Europe, and the second in *Cuyo*, the command, as has been said, was assumed by Villagran. Aguirre, however, on learning the death of Valdivia, quitted *Cuyo*, and with sixty men returned to *Chili*, determined to possess himself of the government. Civil war was on the point of breaking out; but with more self-control and self-denial than was usually to be found amongst Spanish conquerors, both aspirants agreed to submit their respective pretensions to the Royal Audience of *Lima*. This court, which had at this time jurisdiction over the whole of South America, left at first the question in abeyance, but on reflection confirmed Villagran in the command, ordering him at the same time to rebuild *Conception*. This measure was carried out by him in opposition to his own judgment.

The natives of the country, indignant at the renewed prospect of a foreign yoke, had recourse to their protectors, the Araucanians, who sent to their assistance two thousand men under the command of Lautaro. The young general passed the *Bio-bio* without delay, and was met by the Spanish force in the plain. On the first encounter, the citizens, struck with panic, returned to the fort with such precipitation that the Spaniards entered with them, killing a great number. The remainder dispersed either on board ship or into the woods, finding their way as best they could to *St. Iago*. Lautaro again burned the city and returned to his usual station.

The successful result of this enterprise induced Cau-polican once more to undertake the sieges of *Imperial* and *Valdivia*; whilst Lautaro, on his part, engaged to make a diversion by marching against *St. Iago*. In order to carry this project into execution, he selected but six hundred men out of all who pressed to join his standard. With these he traversed the provinces lying between the *Bio-bio* and the *Maúle*, carefully respecting the property of the natives. When he had passed this latter river,

however, he devastated the lands of the Promaucians, who were attached to the Spanish interest. He then fortified himself in an advantageous post on the *Rio Claro*, with a view to gaining information respecting the city he proposed to attack. This ill-timed delay gave breathing space to the inhabitants of *St. Iago*, who could not at first believe in the reality of Lautaro's advance. Villagran, being at this time on the sick list, delegated the command in the field to his son, whilst he himself proceeded to fortify the city as well as circumstances might permit. Pedro Villagran attacked the Araucanians in their intrenchments, but was entirely routed, his cavalry alone being enabled to save themselves. Undismayed, however, by this experience, he returned three times with fresh troops to the attack, being each time repulsed with loss. He then encamped his army in a meadow, which gave the Araucanians the idea of inundating it at night by means of the branch of a stream. This design, however, was betrayed to the Spaniards, who retired to *St. Iago* in time to prevent its execution.

The elder Villagran was now in a condition to take the field, and was earnestly besought to do so by the inhabitants of *St. Iago*, who every moment saw Lautaro at their gates. He at length began his march with about ^{1556.} two hundred Spaniards and a thousand natives. Proceeding stealthily by the sea-shore after having quitted the main road, he was guided by a spy at break of day towards the Araucanian encampment. Lautaro, taken by surprise, hastened to the intrenchments, but was pierced to the heart by a weapon hurled by one of the native auxiliaries. On this unexpected event the fortifications were attacked on all sides, and the Araucanians, after an obstinate resistance, having declined all terms of surrender, were cut to pieces to the last man.

This signal victory was celebrated by successive three

days' rejoicings in *St. Iago* ; but the Spaniards, when once relieved of their terror, were sufficiently generous to render a just tribute to the merits of the Araucanian hero, who, at the early age of nineteen, had made them tremble for the safety of their Chilian Empire.

NOTE.—It is to be noted that whilst Molina spells that country *Chili*, Ovalle, like him a Chilian, spells the name *Chila*. The etymology of the word, according to the latter writer, in so far as I understand him, is derived from the south wind ; but this may refer to the name of the Southern Sea. He is not very clear in the passage in question.—OVALLE, Book i. chap. xiv.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARAUCANIAN WAR—(continued). THE GOVERNMENT OF DON GARCIA DE MENDOZA.

1557-1560.

ON learning the death of Lautaro, Caupolican gave up the siege of *Imperial* and returned with his army to defend the frontiers of *Araucania* from the renewed invasion which he foresaw. When the news of the death of Valdivia had reached Spain, the government of *Chili* had been confided to his agent Alderete, who had likewise placed under him six hundred regular troops. On his passage outwards, a light, used by his sister for the purpose of reading whilst in bed, was the means of the ship taking fire, not far from *Porto Bello*. So complete was the disaster that of the entire number Alderete, with three soldiers, alone escaped. He died soon afterwards in the island of *Tobago* in the Gulf of *Panamá*.

The Marquis of Canete, Viceroy of *Peru*, appointed to the vacant office of governor of *Chili* his son *Don Garcia de Mendoza*, giving him at the same time a sufficient body of troops for the purpose of bringing to a termination the Araucanian war. A general recruitment took place throughout *Peru*, where, the civil war having been for some time at an end, there was a considerable desire for further military adventure. Mendoza and his force of infantry embarked on board of ten ships, whilst the cavalry pursued their way by land under the command of *Don Garcia Ramon*. The fleet arrived in the Bay of *Conception* in April 1557, and anchored near the 1557.

island of *Quiriquina*, where the inhabitants were unable successfully to oppose them. Some of these having been captured in endeavouring to effect their retreat to the mainland, the new governor sent two or three of them to the Araucanians with news of his coming and with proposals for a lasting peace.

The *Ulmenes* met in council to deliberate as to what steps should be taken. On the advice of the aged *Colocolo* it was resolved to give the Spanish governor a hearing, and a suitable person was chosen who should proceed as envoy for this purpose. *Millalauco* was received by the Spaniards in such a manner as to impress him with their power and grandeur, but the proud chief contented himself with assuring *Don Garcia* of the pleasure that he and his people would feel in the establishment of an honourable peace, towards which he said he was induced by motives of humanity. The envoy was entertained with all possible consideration, and was afterwards conducted over the camp. He observed everything with an outward appearance of utter indifference, and on his return advised his countrymen to prepare for immediate war.

Don Garcia, however, passed the winter in the island, awaiting the arrival of his cavalry from *Peru*. At length, on the night of the 6th of August (corresponding to our February), he landed one hundred and thirty men on the plain of *Conception*, and took possession of *Mount Pinto*, which commands the harbour. Here he constructed a fort, in which he placed a large number of cannon. On learning what had taken place, *Caupolican* hastily collected his troops and passed the *Bio-bio* three days later. On the following morning, at daybreak,—the famous *St. Quintin's Day*—he attacked the fortress upon three sides, having previously filled up the ditch with trunks and branches of trees. The attack was furious, but it was withstood by skilful hands directing cannon and musketry. The Spaniards on the island, perceiving

the danger of the besieged, came over to their aid. Caupolican sent a part of his troops against them; but, after a combat of several hours' duration, they were forced back to the mountain, thus leaving the Araucanians between two fires. Exhausted with fatigue, they had now to withdraw to the *Bio-bio*. It was the intention of Caupolican to renew his march towards *Conception*, but meanwhile he learned that the Spanish cavalry had arrived, and thus he had reluctantly to forego the hope of repeating the feat which had been twice performed by Lautaro.

Don Garcia was now in a position to assume the offensive. When his army had rested, he crossed the *Bio-bio* in boats, within sight of Caupolican, who was unable to obstruct his passage. That general awaited him in a position flanked by woods, which might be of advantage to him in case of defeat. The first skirmish was favourable to the Araucanians; but when the two armies met, they were not able to advance in the face of the fire of the Spanish musketry, and after many ineffectual attempts, they were forced to fall back in confusion and to take refuge in the woods. The Spanish general adopted cruel measures towards his prisoners, even permitting his native allies to mutilate them in his own presence. Amongst those taken on this occasion was one named Galverino, whose hands *Don Garcia* ordered to be cut off. On his return to his countrymen in this condition, they were so inflamed against the Spaniards that they swore to put to death any one who should propose peace.

The Spanish army now penetrated into the province of *Arauco*, but never being left in peace by the enemy. The general put to torture several natives in order to get information of Caupolican, but failed to obtain knowledge of his place of retreat. He had not long, however, to wait before seeing him, for he very soon afterwards appeared with his army in three lines. When the

Spanish cavalry charged the first, it was received by Caupolican, who gave orders to his pikemen to meet with levelled spears the attack of the horse, whilst the mace-bearers should strike at their heads. Whilst the cavalry were thus thrown into confusion, the Araucanian general broke into the centre of the infantry, being ably supported by Tucapel at the head of another division. Victory seemed to await the Araucanians, when *Don Garcia* gave orders to his reserve to attack the remaining division of the enemy, who were thus in turn thrown into such confusion that Caupolican was forced to sound a retreat.

The Spanish general celebrated his victory by causing twelve *Ulmenes*, who were amongst his prisoners, to be hanged, after which he proceeded into the province of *Tucapel*, where, in the locality where Valdivia had been defeated, he founded a city, which, after the titular designation of his family, he called *Canete*. He then returned to *Imperial*, where he was received in triumph. From *Imperial* he sent to *Canete* a plentiful supply of provisions; but the convoy was routed by a body of Araucanians in the pass of *Caucupil*. Many of the convoy, however, escaped to *Canete*, which place was shortly afterwards assaulted by Caupolican. After an attack of five hours, he had, however, to desist from the enterprise, when he resolved to fall back upon stratagem.

Selecting one of his officers named *Pran*, he persuaded him to introduce himself into the garrison as a deserter, where he formed an acquaintance with a Chilian in the service of the Spaniards. This individual, to whom *Pran* prematurely divulged his design of introducing some Araucanian soldiers into the place, betrayed his project to the Spanish commander, who directed him to keep up the deception in order to take the enemy in their own snare. The principal officers of the Araucanians, when informed of the intention of their general, not only openly disapproved of it, as bringing disgrace on the national character, but further declined to have anything to do with carrying it

into execution. Caupolican, however, at the appointed time, set out for *Canete* with three thousand men, and duly fell into the trap prepared for him. When half of his force had entered, the Spaniards suddenly closed the gate, commencing at the same time a fire of grape-shot upon those without, whilst the cavalry, who had issued from another gate, were prepared to complete their destruction. Meanwhile those within the fortress were butchered to a man. Caupolican escaped with a few attendants to the mountains.

After this disastrous repulse, *Don Garcia* had some right to come to the conclusion that the Araucanian war was now practically over, and he therefore ordered the city of *Conception* to be rebuilt. He further resolved to distinguish himself as a conquering explorer by marching into the country of the *Cunches*, who had not been opposed to the Spanish arms. The elders of this people deliberated in council as to the manner in which they should receive the strangers, and were advised by an Araucanian exile who was present to impress the Spaniards with an idea of their poverty. "As vassals," said this sagacious man, "you will be despised and compelled to labour; as enemies you will be exterminated. If you wish to free yourselves of these dangerous visitors, make them believe that you are miserably poor." Acting on this advice, the *Cunches* sent envoys, clad in miserable rags, to compliment the Spanish general, and to present to him an offering consisting of a basket containing some roasted lizards and some wild fruits. 1558.

The device succeeded so far as to convince the Spaniards of the poverty of the *Cunches*; but *Don Garcia* could not all at once give up his plan of exploration. Seeking a guide from the envoys, he was given one who had instructions to conduct his army along the coast by the most desolate roads. So well did this individual fulfil his instructions that the Spaniards, who were accustomed to the most fatiguing routes, were forced to acknowledge

that they had never encountered such difficulties before. To add to their trouble, during the fourth day's march they were deserted by their guide, they being at the time in a desert beset by precipices. They were, however, constantly encouraged by their commander, and, overcoming all obstacles, they reached a high mountain, from which they could discern the great archipelago of *Chiloë*.

This unexpected prospect filled them with delight. They had suffered from hunger for days; but on hastening to the shore they were well received by the natives, who approached them in their boats and offered them an abundant supply of provisions. All were now provided gratis with maize, fruit, and fish; and the Spaniards had an opportunity of coasting the archipelago to the Bay of *Reloncavi* and of visiting some of the neighbouring islands. Amongst these explorers was the poet Ercilla, who marked on the bark of a tree on the southern side of the gulf the date of its discovery, February 28th, 1558.* Satisfied with his explorations, *Don Garcia de Mendoza* now set out on his return, taking one of the islanders as his guide, who conducted him safely by another less difficult route to *Imperial*. On his way he founded the city of *Osorno*, which, owing to its manufactories of woollen and linen stuffs, as well as to the fine gold procured in its neighbourhood, rose rapidly into importance.

Whilst *Mendoza* was absent on this expedition, *Alonzo Reynoso*, the commander of *Canete*, distinguished himself by an act of singular infamy even amongst the Spanish proceedings of the age. He had spared neither offers of reward nor the application of torture in order to discover the hiding-place of *Caupolican*. Having at length found a native who was amenable to one or other of these influences, he despatched under his guidance a detachment of cavalry, who succeeded in surprising the veteran general. It was not, however, until a gallant resistance from ten of his devoted followers that he consented to surrender—

* *Vide* p. 94.

much to the indignation of his wife, who threw towards him his infant son, calling him at the same time a coward for not preferring to die on the spot. The distinguished prisoner was conducted before Reynoso, who immediately ordered him to be impaled, and in this condition to be despatched with arrows.

Caupolican, on hearing his sentence, quietly pointed out that his death could answer no possible end save that of inflaming the inveterate hatred of his countrymen against the Spaniards; that, should his life be spared, he might be serviceable in the interest of the Spanish sovereign and of religion, which the Spaniard declared was the sole object of this destructive war; but that if it were determined he should die, it would be better that he should be sent to Spain, where his end might not be the means of causing fresh disturbances in his country. His arguments were lost upon Reynoso, who, however, was considerate enough to furnish him with the services of a priest. After his pretended conversion and subsequent baptism he was conducted to a scaffold for execution. On seeing the instrument of punishment, the nature of which he now for the first time comprehended, and the negro who was to act as executioner, he was enraged to such a degree that by a furious kick he hurled the latter from the scaffold, exclaiming with dignity, "Is there no sword and some less unworthy hand to put to death a man like myself? This is not justice; it is base revenge." He was, however, seized by numbers and compelled to undergo the punishment which has consigned Reynoso's name to infamy alike amongst Spaniards and Araucanians.*

The predictions of Caupolican were soon verified. Fired by unbounded rage, the Araucanians at once pro-

* Ovalle states that Caupolican, previously to his barbarous execution, desired with great concern to be baptised, and that he received the absolution.—*Relation of the Kingdom of Chile*, Book v., chap. xxiii.

ceeded to elect a new *Toqui*, who should avenge their unfortunate general. The choice fell upon his son, who, collecting an army, crossed the *Bio-bio* with the intention of attacking *Conception*. He was met by Reynoso with five hundred men, when a fierce combat took place, in which the Spaniards were entirely defeated. Reynoso, who was wounded by Tucapel, was able with a few horsemen to repass the *Bio-bio*. A second attack made by him on the Araucanian camp met with no better success. The Araucanians now learned that *Don Garcia* had quitted *Imperial* with a large body of troops and was laying waste the neighbouring provinces, upon which their young general renounced the siege of *Conception* and hastened to their assistance. On his way he was unexpectedly attacked by two hundred horsemen in ambush. He not only, however, escaped without loss, but cut in pieces a great part of his assailants, pursuing the rest to *Imperial*, to which place *Don Garcia* had returned.

Imperial was besieged with much vigour; and the young Caupolican, unwarned by the experience of his father, endeavoured to seduce the loyalty of the Spaniards' auxiliaries. His two emissaries were, however, discovered and impaled within sight of his army, whilst one hundred and twenty of the auxiliaries were hung upon the ramparts. This, however, did not discourage the Araucanian general, who made a violent assault in which his life was exposed to great danger. He even effected an entrance into the city by night, followed by Tucapel and others, but he was repulsed by *Don Garcia*, whose vigilance was present everywhere, and he owed his safety to a bold leap from the bastion. He wanted patience for the slow prosecution of the siege; and he therefore resolved to abandon it, and employ his arms against Reynoso, in the hope of avenging the death of his father. That officer, however, being joined by *Mendoza*, was in a position to thwart his attempts. It may

be remarked, as a feature of this war, that Reynoso had before this agreed to submit the question between himself and his opponent, Millalauco, to the issue of single combat. The duel took place, but without either combatant obtaining the advantage.

The following campaign was marked by several encounters, some of them favourable to the Araucanians, who, however, saw their numbers fast decreasing before the firearms of their enemies, whilst the Spaniards, on the other hand, were constantly recruited from *Peru* and from Europe. Caupolican therefore intrenched himself between *Canete* and *Conception* at a place called *Quipeo*. *Don Garcia* immediately marched thither to dislodge him. Whilst he delayed his attack in the hope of drawing the Araucanians from their strong position, several skirmishes took place, in one of which Millalauco was made prisoner. This fearless warrior, regardless of his situation, severely reproached the Spanish commander with his cruelties, of which he was about to furnish another conspicuous example, being ordered by Mendoza to be impaled on the spot. At this time, Andrew, the native who at the siege of *Imperial* had betrayed Pran, the secret agent of the elder Caupolican, was now sent by *Don Garcia* to persuade the Araucanian general, under threats of the direst punishment, to submit to his authority. The threats were no doubt meant in all earnest; but the messenger was ill-chosen, for it was with the utmost difficulty that the Araucanian could restrain himself from executing personal vengeance upon the betrayer of his father. Unlike Charles XII., however, in the case of Patkul, he respected the character of an ambassador. He was not, however, long to wait for his revenge. Andrew being a day or two afterwards caught as a spy, was suspended by his feet from a tree and suffocated with smoke.

Mendoza now ordered a furious attack upon the Araucanian encampment, which was first hotly cannonaded. The Araucanians rushed forth, committing great

slaughter amongst the Spaniards. Their retreat was cut off by a skilful movement of the latter, and they found themselves surrounded. Caupolican and his intrepid band nevertheless maintained an equal combat during six hours, at the end of which time he found that his chief officers—amongst them Tucapel, Colocolo, and Lincoyan—were slain. He then at length attempted to retreat with the small remnant of his force; but on being overtaken by a detachment of Spanish cavalry, he slew himself to avoid the fate of his father.

The battle of *Quiveo*—the Araucanians' Flodden—seeming to Mendoza to be decisive, he now devoted his whole attention to repairing the losses of the war. He rebuilt the fortifications of *Arauco* and of *Angol*, and restored the town of *Villa Rica*, causing its abandoned mines to be reopened anew. He likewise obtained the establishment of a bishopric of *St. Iago*, the first incumbent being a Franciscan monk, Fernando Barrionuevo. Of his veteran troops he disposed of a portion by sending them, under the command of Pedro Castillo, to complete the conquest of the trans-Andine province of *Cuyo*. That able officer effected that object, founding on the eastern *Andes* two cities, named respectively *San Juan* and *Mendoza*, the latter being taken from the family name of the governor of *Chili*. *Mendoza*, now the capital of a province of the *Argentine Republic*, has been remarkable in our own day as being the scene of one of the greatest tragedies to which earthquakes have given rise. Whilst engaged in the prosecution of these objects, *Don Garcia* received notice of the arrival at *Buenos Ayres* of his predecessor, Francis Villagran, who, having gone to Europe after he had been deprived of the government, had procured his reinstatement from the court of Spain. In consequence of this information, *Don Garcia* immediately quitted the territories of *Chili*, the government of which he confided to Quiroga until his successor should arrive. He himself, on his return to *Peru*, was rewarded for his

services by being appointed to the viceroyalty of that country, which had till then been held by his father.

NOTE.—“They are much deceived that so little esteeme the Indians, and iudge that (by the advantage the Spaniards have over them in their persons, horses, and armies, both offensive and deffensive) they might easily conquer any land or nation of the India. Chile stands yet, or, to say better, Arauco and Tucapel, which are two cities, where our Spaniards could not yet winne one foote of ground, although they have made warre there about five-and-twenty yeares, without sparing of any cost. For this barbarous nation, having once lost the apprehension of horse and shotte, and knowing that the Spaniards fall as well as other men with the blow of a stone or of a dart, they hazard themselves desperately, entering the pikes vpon any enterprise.”—*Father Joseph de Acosta. Translated by Edward Grimston, 1604; printed for the Hak'uyt Society, 1820.*

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ARAUCANIANS.

1560-1603.

DON FRANCISCO VILLAGRAN returned to *Chili* under the flattering belief that the Araucanians would give him no more trouble; and he accordingly turned his attention to the reacquisition of the province of *Tucuman*, which, after having been subjected by him to *Chili*, had been since attached to *Peru*. Thus was a fresh struggle set on foot between the conquerors of the New World. The
 1560. Chilian commander defeated the chief of the Peruvian forces, and accordingly *Tucuman* was for a short period restored to the government of *Chili*.

But this matter sank into insignificance in the face of the attitude of the Araucanians. The few *Ulmenes* who had escaped from the late defeats, having assembled after the rout of *Quipeo*, unanimously elected as *Toqui* an officer who had distinguished himself, named *Antiguenu*. On accepting the command, he represented, that as almost all the youth of the country had perished, he thought it expedient to retire to some secure situation until such time as a sufficient army could be collected. In accordance with this prudent policy, he sought shelter in the marshes of *Lumaco*, where he erected scaffolds to protect his men from the miasma of this gloomy retreat. The youth of the nation went thither to be instructed in arms, and the Araucanians considered themselves free since they could still boast a national commander.

As soon as Antiguenu saw himself in a position to quit his retreat, he began to train his troops by making excursions into the Spanish territory, the report of which caused much disquietude to Villagran. In order, if possible, to stifle the flame at its commencement, he sent forward his son Pedro with such levies as could be mustered, soon following himself with a more considerable force. The first skirmishes were unfavourable to the Araucanians,—the natural result of the youth and inexperience of their soldiers. Their prudent commander was, however, by no means discouraged, and he had at length the satisfaction of showing that his countrymen had not degenerated, by defeating a body of Spaniards on the hills of *Millepoa*.

Animated by this success, Antiguenu now erected his standard on the mountain of *Mariguenu*, situated on the road which leads to the province of *Arauco*, and where, on a previous occasion, Lautaro had so signally defeated Villagran. That officer was prevented by ill-health from now assuming the command, which was entrusted to one of his sons, with the result that almost his entire army—the flower of the Spanish troops,—together with a great number of auxiliaries, were cut in pieces, their general being killed. After this victory Antiguenu marched against *Canete*; but Villagran, anticipating the impossibility of defending it, withdrew the inhabitants to *Imperial* or to *Conception*. The fortifications of *Canete* were destroyed, and the town was entirely consumed by fire. Villagran himself now fell a victim to the grief and anxiety which aggravated the disorder from which he suffered. He was deeply regretted by the colonists, who lost in him a wise and humane commander, to whose prudent conduct they were indebted for the preservation of their conquests. The special commission from the court had appointed as his successor his eldest son Pedro.

On the death of the governor, Antiguenu divided his

army of four thousand men into two bodies; one of which, under the vice-*Toqui* Antunecul, was to lay siege to *Conception*, whilst with the other he himself was to march against the fort of *Arauco*. The former passed the *Bio-bio*, and having twice repulsed the forces of the governor, he closely invested the place for two months; but he was obliged eventually to retire, as he could not prevent the town receiving succours and provisions by sea. Meanwhile the defence of *Arauco* was maintained with the utmost vigour. As Antiguenu had observed that in his attack the bravest officers were pointed out to the Spaniards by their native troops, and thus became marks for their artillery, he resolved to take a well-deserved vengeance upon these, and for this purpose contrived to inform the Spanish general that his auxiliaries were intriguing to deliver up the place to the Araucanians. The Spanish commander, Bernal, gave such credit to this report, that he immediately ordered them to quit the place. They were at once seized by the Araucanians and put to death in sight of the Spaniards.

The Araucanian chief, impatient at the slow progress of the siege, now sought to bring it to a conclusion, and, with this end in view, challenged the Spanish general to single combat. Bernal, animated by an equally chivalrous spirit, accepted the challenge, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his soldiers. The combat lasted for two hours, at the end of which time the two champions were separated by their respective adherents. That which force had been unable to effect, now resulted from famine. Boats laden with provisions had repeatedly made the attempt to relieve the besieged, but they were invariably thwarted by the vigilance of the enemy, and at length Bernal found himself compelled to abandon the place. The Araucanian general permitted the garrison to retire unmolested, and contented himself with burning the houses and demolishing the walls of *Arauco*.

The next object which Antiguenu proposed to himself was the capture of *Angol*, which task he confided to one of his officers, who was, however, defeated on the way to that place. On this, Antiguenu hastened thither with two thousand men to repair the disaster; but whilst he was encamped at the confluence of the *Bio-bio* and the *Vergosa*, he was attacked by the entire Spanish force under the command of Bernal. The contest which ensued was one of the fiercest ever fought. The Araucanians employed with much skill the muskets which they had taken at the defeat of the Spaniards at *Mari-guenu*, and sustained during three hours the assault of the enemy. Four hundred of the auxiliaries and a number of the Spaniards had fallen when the infantry of the latter began to give way. Bernal, seeing no other means of sustaining the fight, ordered his cavalry to cut down the fugitives. This severe measure had the desired effect, and the enemy's entrenchments were at length carried. Antiguenu, forced along with a crowd of his soldiers, fell from a high bank into the river and was drowned. His death decided the battle, and a great slaughter of the Araucanians followed. Many also perished in the river, into which they had thrown themselves to escape. In this battle the victors themselves were almost all wounded. 1564.

Antiguenu was succeeded in the office of *Toqui* by Paillataru, brother or cousin of the celebrated Lautaro. This chief contented himself during the first years of his command with leading his men from time to time to ravage the enemy's country. During this time Quiroga was appointed by the Royal Audience of *Lima* to be governor of *Chili*. Having received a reinforcement of three hundred soldiers, he entered, in 1565, the Araucanian territory and rebuilt the fort of *Arauco* and the city of *Canete*. He likewise constructed a new fortress at *Quipeo*. In the following year he despatched Ruiz Camboa with a small force to reduce to subjection the

inhabitants of the archipelago of *Chiloë*, an enterprise in executing which no opposition was encountered. In the principal island he founded the city of *Castro* and the port of *Chacao*. The eighty islands of this archipelago, which owe their existence to earthquakes, and denote by their basaltic columns the action of fire, are inhabited by a race descended from the continental Chilians, but are of a very different character from theirs, being pacific and rather timid. Although the population is said to have been about seventy thousand, they allowed themselves to be subjected by a mere handful of Spaniards. These islanders, who are now greatly reduced in number, are said to display considerable aptitude for the mechanical arts, and are adepts in agriculture, raising beans, pease, and potatoes, which are the largest and best in *Chili*. They are likewise, as might be supposed, excellent sailors. After the conquest they readily embraced the Christian religion, to which they have ever since continued faithful.

The attention drawn to *Chili* by the continuance of the Araucanian war induced Philip II. to establish a court of Royal Audience in this part of his transatlantic dominions, independent of that of *Peru*. To this body was entrusted not only the political but likewise the military administration. The members of this tribunal, which was composed of four judges and a fiscal, entered
1567. *Conception* in August 1567. Its first act was to remove Quiroga, and to give the command of the army to Ruiz Gamboa. This officer was so fortunate as to defeat Paillataru in three obstinate contests. Being master of the country unopposed during one year, the Spanish general repeatedly but unsuccessfully proposed to the Araucanians to enter into negotiations for peace. Having failed to obtain this object, the government of the Royal Audience lost credit, and it was deemed more expedient to confide the chief authority to a new officer called Governor and Captain-General, who was to be President

of the Audience and to command the army. *Don Melchor de Bravo* was invested with this character in 1568, and sought to signalize the commencement of his authority by a striking military success.

Paillataru having collected a new army and occupied the height of *Mariguenu*, De Bravo marched against him at the head of three hundred Spaniards and many auxiliaries. Equally fortunate with his predecessors who had commanded on this famous spot, Paillataru entirely defeated the Spanish army, and had almost made the President a prisoner. So intimidated was the latter that he resigned the command of the army to Gamboa, whom he ordered to evacuate the fortress of *Arauco*. Paillataru, having taken the post of *Quipeo*, marched against *Canete*, when he encountered in a fierce battle the troops of Gamboa. The Spaniards remained masters of the field, but were soon afterwards compelled to retreat from the Araucanian territory. For about four years after this date there was a suspension of arms on either side. During this period occurred a terrible earthquake, which did great damage to the Spanish settlements, entirely destroying *Conception*. In 1570, *Imperial* became the seat of a bishopric, which included the vast country lying between the *Maile* and the southern confines of *Chili*.

On the death of Paillataru, which occurred about this time, the office of *Toqui* was conferred upon Alonzo Diaz, or Paynenancu, one of the mixed race of Spaniards and Chilians called *Mustees*, who had multiplied greatly. By this appointment the Araucanians desired to attach these to their cause, showing the confidence they reposed in them. Paynenancu had for ten years fought in their armies, distinguishing himself greatly. He was as rash as his predecessor had been cautious, but he was not fortunate in the enterprises which he undertook as a commander, being defeated on two occasions. On one of these, amongst the prisoners taken were several women

found in arms, the greater number of whom destroyed themselves the same night.

1575. The licentiate Calderon, having arrived in *Chili* with a commission from the court of Spain as examiner, took the step of suppressing the Court of Audience on the very proper principle of economy. The auditors were sent back to *Peru*, and Quiroga was once more appointed governor. Having received a force of two thousand men from Spain, he despatched his father-in-law, Ruiz Gamboa, to found a colony at the foot of the *Cordilleras*, between the cities of *St. Iago* and *Conception*. *Chillan*, so called from the river on which it stands, is now the capital of the fertile province of the same name. Quiroga died in 1580, leaving Gamboa as his successor. The three years of his government were occupied in opposing the attempts of Paynenancu, and in repelling other tribes of the Chilian *Andes*, who were instigated by the Araucanians to molest the Spanish settlements.

When information reached Spain of the death of Quiroga, Don Alonzo Sotomayor was sent out as governor to *Chili*, together with six hundred regular troops. Having landed at *Buenos Ayres* in 1583, the new governor proceeded thence by land to *St. Iago*, whence he immediately sent his brother to succour *Villa Rica* and *Valdivia*, which were besieged by the Araucanians. Don Louis succeeded in this object, having twice defeated Paynenancu. The enterprising *Toqui* was not, however, discouraged by his invariable defeats, which were always purchased dearly. To oppose him, the new governor, having driven off the *Pehuenches* from the neighbourhood of *Chillan*, entered the Araucanian territory with seven hundred Spaniards and the usual auxiliaries. Returning to the barbarous mode of warfare which had been adopted by Don Garcia de Mendoza, he laid waste the province of *Encol*. Such prisoners as fell into his hands were either hanged or dismissed with their hands cut off. Warned by the fate of *Encol*, the inhabitants of *Puren*

Elicura, and *Tucapel*, after firing their houses and crops, secured themselves by flight. In the latter province but three captives were taken, and these were impaled. Such barbarities had the natural result of sending many recruits to the Araucanian army. Its unfortunate general withstood, on the frontiers of *Arauco*, the whole Spanish force, with only eight hundred men. His troops, however, fought with such resolution that the Spaniards were unable to break them until after an obstinate contest of several hours' duration. Nearly all the Araucanians were slain; their commander was taken prisoner and executed. After this victory the fort of *Arauco* was once more rebuilt.

But the Spirit of Freedom which sat with Thrasybulus upon Phylœ's brow had not yet deserted the Araucanians, whose valour revived on the elevation of one of their own pure race, the *Ulmen* Cayancaru, to the dignity of *Toqui*. One hundred and fifty messengers, furnished with the symbolical arrows, were despatched to various tribes in search of aid; and in a short time a considerable army was collected. The first exploit of Cayancaru was to attack by midnight the Spanish camp on the *Carampangui*, he having by means of a spy informed himself of its exact situation. The auxiliaries, who bore the first brunt of the assault, were cut in pieces. The Spaniards themselves owed their safety to the rising moon, which enabled them soon to direct an effective fire against their assailants. Cayancaru, having allowed his troops to rest during the remainder of the night, resumed the attack at daybreak, when an obstinate and bloody battle ensued. The Spanish horse and artillery, however, decided the day; but the victor, nevertheless, immediately after the battle, thought it prudent to raise his camp and retire beyond the Araucanian frontier. To protect this, he built the fort of *Trinidad* on the southern, and *Spirito Santo* on the northern bank of the *Bio-bio*. He likewise lost no time in raising a levy

of two thousand horse and a considerable number of infantry.

The Araucanian general resolved to take advantage of the retreat of the governor to attack the fortress of *Arauco*; and, to facilitate this enterprise, he endeavoured to divert the Spanish forces as much as possible, incursions being made into the territories of *Villa Rica*, *Angol*, and *Imperial*, whilst a guard was placed on the shores of the *Bio-bio*. The garrison of *Arauco*, perceiving, from the preparations of Cayancaru, that their means of escape would be cut off, and that they would be eventually reduced by hunger, thought it better to perish with arms in their hands. They therefore attacked the works of the enemy with such vigour that they not only carried them, but put the Araucanians to flight. Cayancaru, extremely mortified, now resigned the command of his army to his son Nangoniel. The young commander, in no way discouraged by what had taken place, collected some infantry, together with a hundred and fifty horse, and having reinvaded the same fortress, so distressed the Spaniards by want of provisions that they were forced to evacuate it. Nangoniel, having been soon afterwards drawn into an ambush and slain, was succeeded by Cadeguala.

It was about this time that an English squadron appeared in this part of South America. On the 21st of July 1586, Sir Thomas Cavendish sailed from Plymouth with three ships, and in the following year arrived on the coast of *Chili*. Landing at *Quintero*, he endeavoured to enter into negotiation with the natives, but he was attacked by the *Corregidor* of *St. Iago*, and after having suffered some loss, was compelled to quit the coast. Cadeguala availed himself of this timely diversion to surprise the city of *Angol*. Having, by means of secret agents, persuaded those Chilians who were in the service of Spaniards to set fire to their masters' houses by night, he entered the city amidst the confusion, causing a dreadful slaughter of the citizens, who, in flying

from the flames, fell into his hands. On that fatal night none would have escaped but for the opportune arrival of the governor two hours before the attack. With the greatest presence of mind he proceeded at the head of his guard to the various quarters, and, collecting the dispersed inhabitants, conducted them to the citadel. Having sallied thence at daybreak, he forced the enemy to retire. It is to be remarked, as showing how much the Araucanians had profited by the moral example given them by the Spaniards, that they no longer scrupled to employ treachery. On this occasion the *Toqui* was not deserted by any of his officers, as had been the fate of Caupolican when he employed the same means at *Canete*.

The next and last enterprise of the gallant Cadeguala was against the fortress of *Puren*, which he invested with four thousand men. The governor, hastening to relieve it with a strong reinforcement, was met by Cadeguala with a hundred and fifty lances and compelled to retreat. Elated with this success, he determined to decide the fate of *Puren* at a single blow. For this purpose he appeared before the walls, mounted on a splendid horse which he had taken from the governor, and defied the commander of the place, Garcia Ramon, to single combat at the end of three days. The challenge was accepted, and at the appointed time the intrepid *Toqui* appeared on the field with a limited number of attendants. The Spanish commander likewise came out with forty men, who, like the followers of the *Toqui*, remained at a distance. The two champions encountered each other with such fury that the first shock was decisive. Cadeguala fell, pierced through by the lance of his adversary. Even then he would not acknowledge himself vanquished; but life failed him in his attempt to remount his horse. His body, after a sharp contest, was carried off by his followers. With this incident, recalling similar ones between the Spaniards and their gallant opponents at the siege of Granada, ended the investment of *Puren*.

The Araucanians, under their new *Toqui*, Guanoalca, being informed that the garrison was ill-supplied with provisions and cut off from succour, were not long in returning to the siege of *Puren*, the Spaniards in which place, however, were permitted to retire unmolested to *Angol*. The *Toqui* then lost no time in marching against a new fort in the vicinity of the mountain of *Mariguenu*; but on its being reinforced he turned his arms against *Spirito Santo* and *Trinidad* on the *Bio-bio*, both of which were evacuated in 1589. Guanoalca was seconded in his military operations by the heroine Janequeo, the wife of Guepotan, who had long defended *Leben*. On the loss of that place he had retired to the *Andes*; but he had descended to the plains in order to regain his wife; and, being surprised, he chose to die rather than be made prisoner. He was well avenged. Janequeo placed herself at the head of a force of *Puelches*, and in 1590 began to make inroads upon the Spanish settlements, killing all who fell into her hands.

The governor of *Chili* marched against her, but only to lose time and men. Before his retreat he gave orders that all prisoners should be hanged. Janequeo next proceeded against the fortress of *Puchanqui*, near which she defeated its commander, Aranda, who was himself slain. The fort having resisted her efforts, she retired to the mountains near *Villarica*, the neighbourhood of which she rendered so unsafe that none ventured to quit the town. Moved by the complaints of the citizens, Sotomayor at length sent his brother *Don Louis* to their aid. Janequeo repelled the various assaults of the Spaniards, but was in the end obliged to retreat before their artillery. Her brother being taken, he obtained his life on the promise of keeping his sister quiet; but whilst his proposal for a reconciliation with the Spaniards was being debated in council, he was killed by a patriotic *Ulmen*, who would not hear of such a proposition.

1591. In the year 1591 Quintuguenu succeeded to the

office of *Toqui* on the death of Guanoalca. Having assaulted the fort of *Mariguenu*, he encamped with two thousand men upon the top of that famous height, whence the governor, putting himself at the head of a thousand Spaniards and a number of auxiliaries, resolved to dislodge him. The latter began at daybreak the difficult ascent of the mountain, leading the advanced guard in person. Half-way in the ascent he was attacked with fury by Quintuguenu; but, animating his men by his words and deeds, he sustained for an hour the terrible encounter, and forced the enemy, step by step, back into their entrenchments. The Araucanians defended themselves with the utmost bravery until mid-day, when their camp was forced on the left and right. Still Quintuguenu for a long time rendered the event doubtful. Recalling to his men the glorious memories of Lautaro, he exhorted them not to dishonour that holy spot by defeat. Rushing from rank to rank he fell, pierced by three mortal wounds at the hands of the governor, his dying word being "Liberty." His death decided the day.

Sotomayor, the first Spanish conqueror on *Mariguenu*, conducted his army to the sea-shore, where he was saluted by the Peruvian fleet, which had witnessed his glorious victory. He next built a fort to replace that of Arauco in a locality which would be more readily succoured. He then set out for the province of *Tucapel*, marking his way by fire and sword. The next *Toqui* was Piällaeco, who soon lost his life in battle, when his countrymen were so overwhelmed that their remaining warriors had to take refuge in the marshes. These victories, however, on the part of the Spaniards were ineffectual to decide the war. The governor, who was an experienced soldier, seeing that a large force was needed for this purpose, resolved to proceed in person to *Peru* in order to obtain it. On his arrival there he was met by *Don Martin Loyola* (nephew of St. Ignatius), who had been appointed his successor. This officer had distinguished himself by capturing, in the fastnesses

of the *Andes*, Tupac Amaru, the last of the *Incas* of *Peru*, a service which not only obtained for him the government of *Chili*, but likewise the hand of the Princess *Clara Beatrix Coya*, the daughter and heiress of the *Inca* Sayri Tupac.

1593. Loyola reached *Valparaiso*, the port of *St. Iago*, in 1593.

The Araucanians next chose for *Toqui* an active veteran named Paillamachu, whose career was destined to be of more lasting service to his country than had been that of any of his distinguished predecessors, unless indeed it be said that his career was but the result of their example. Imitating the precedent of Antiguenu, he retreated to the marshes of *Lumaco*, there to train an army. Loyola having proceeded to *Conception*, was there met by an Araucanian officer who had been sent to compliment him, and on whose mind he endeavoured to impress an idea of the resources of his sovereign, and of the necessity of submission. He was, however, assured in reply that the Araucanians would never submit to foreign control whilst they had a drop of blood in their veins. Loyola could not but admire the sentiments of the noble Antipillan, whom he dismissed with every demonstration of esteem. He nevertheless was far from relinquishing the policy of his predecessors.

1594. Passing the *Bio-bio*, he founded near it a new city, to which he gave the name of *Coya*, in honour of his wife; and he established two castles to protect it. This proceeding was the signal for attack on the part of Paillamachu, whose lieutenant assaulted Fort *Jesus* in 1595, but failed to reduce it. In the following year the Araucanian general felt himself in sufficient strength to make frequent incursions into the Spanish districts; but he carefully avoided an encounter with their troops. With the object of restraining him, Loyola erected two new forts, one at *Puren* and the other on the border of the marshes of *Lumaco*. In 1597 he also founded a settlement in the province of *Cujo*, to which he gave the name of *St. Louis de Loyola*.

Paillamachu soon took by storm the fort of *Lumaco*, and the governor prudently demolished that of *Puren*, to save it from a like fate. Having next repaired the fortifications of *Imperial*, *Villarica*, and *Valdivia*, he returned to the *Bio-bio*, retaining as an escort only sixty half-pay officers, when he was attacked by the *Toqui* in the valley of *Caralava* and put to death ^{1598.} with all his retinue. In less than forty-eight hours after this event the whole Araucanian provinces were in arms, as were likewise the *Cunchese* and the *Cuilliches*, and the whole country as far as the archipelago of *Chiloë*. Every Spaniard outside the garrisons was put to death; whilst *Osorno*, *Valdivia*, *Villarica*, *Imperial*, *Canete*, *Angol*, *Coya*, and the fortress of *Arauco*, were all at once invested with a close siege. Paillamachu himself, crossing the *Bio-bio*, burned the cities of *Conception* and *Chillan*, laying waste the surrounding provinces.

The receipt of this alarming news so terrified the inhabitants of *St. Iago* that they made up their minds to quit the country and retire to *Peru*. They appointed, however, as temporary governor Pedro de Viscara, a veteran of seventy years, who set out for the frontier with such troops as he could raise. Crossing the *Bio-bio* ^{1599.} in the face of the enemy, he withdrew the inhabitants of *Angol* and *Coya*, sending them to *Conception* and *Chillan*. At the end of six months he was relieved by *Don Francisco Quinones*, sent by the Viceroy of *Peru* to assume the government. Several actions took place to the north of the *Bio-bio*; the most important occurred on the plains of *Yumbel*. This battle, fought between nearly equal numbers, continued with incredible fury for nearly two hours, when night parted the combatants, and the *Toqui* repassed the *Bio-bio*. The Spanish governor ordered his prisoners to be hanged. After this engagement the fort of *Arauco* and the city of *Canete* were evacuated.

The active Paillamachu went from place to place. He

stormed *Valdivia*, putting to death a great number of the inhabitants, and forcing the remainder to save themselves on board ships, which at once set sail. By this exploit he secured all the cannon of the place, two millions of dollars, and four hundred prisoners. To add to these misfortunes, five Dutch men-of-war now appeared on
 1600. the coast of *Chili*, plundering the island of *Chiloë* and putting the garrison to the sword. A party having attacked the Araucanians on the island of *Talca*, or *Santa Maria*, under the belief that they were Spaniards, were repulsed with the loss of twenty-three men.

Quinones was succeeded in the government by Garcia Raymon, an officer of much experience in South America, and who in turn had shortly to give place to Rivera, a soldier who had fought in the Low Countries, and who was now sent out with a regiment of veterans. His coming encouraged his countrymen to abandon their idea of quitting *Chili*; it did not, however, retrieve the fortunes of the war. After a siege of three years, *Villarica*
 1602. fell into the hands of the Araucanians: whilst a similar fate awaited *Imperial*, which place owed its protracted defence to a Spanish heroine, called Inez Agulera. When defence was no longer possible, this lady, who during the siege had lost her husband and her brothers, escaped by sea with a great part of the inhabitants. The city of *Osorno* was the next to give way to the besiegers, and thus was freed from the presence of the Spaniards the extensive country between the *Bio-bio* and the archipelago of *Chiloë*, and the work of Valdivia and his successors was undone.

The cities which fell into the enemy's hands were destroyed, and their prisoners, who had been reduced to terrible straits, were so numerous that almost each Araucanian family had one to its share. As ransom was permitted, many escaped from captivity. Others, induced by the love of their mixed offspring, preferred to remain with their conquerors. The valiant Pailla-

machu only survived till the following year, 1603. The towns which he destroyed have never been rebuilt; * their scanty ruins are his monument. Thus ended, as regarded its permanent results, the Araucanian War of Independence, exemplifying, if ever a war did, the sentiment contained in the lines:—

“ Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.”

• The present Valdivia is merely a garrison.

NOTE.—Chapters VIII., XII., XIII., and XIV. of vol. I. are founded on—

“ *History of Chili;*” by the *Abbé Don J. Ignatius Molina*. Longman. 1809.

On “ *Historia General y Natural de las Indias;*” by Oviedo.

And on “ *Historical Relation of Chili;*” by Ovalle.

CHAPTER XV.

BRAZIL.

1570-1622.

1578. THE growth of the colony of *Brazil* had been so rapid during the fourteen years' able administration of Mem de Sa that it was now thought advisable to divide its territory into two governments, *S. Sebastian*, or *Rio de Janeiro*, being the capital of the second government, which was to include all the settlements to the south of that place. This subdivision, however, was not found convenient, and at the end of two years the southern government was made subordinate to the northern. At this precise period the succession to the crown of Portugal was in dispute; and Philip II. of Spain, one of the claimants, offered the entire Brazilian colonies, with the title of King, to the Duke of Braganza, which offer, however, was not accepted.

It may be of interest here to give a brief account of this splendid colonial empire, as it was represented, for the information of the Portuguese Government, by one who had resided seventeen years in the country. In the year 1581 the city of *S. Salvador*, now *Bahia*, contained eight hundred inhabitants, and the whole *Reconcave*, or the coast-line of the surrounding bay, about two thousand, exclusive of negroes and native Indians. Five hundred horse and two thousand foot could be brought into the field; whilst three *caravels* and fourteen hundred boats were available for the king's service. The cathedral church could boast five dignitaries, six canons, two

minor canons, four chaplains, and one *curé* and his coadjutor. There were no less than sixty-two churches in the city, together with three monasteries. In this respect *S. Salvador* had certainly no cause of complaint. The country for two miles round was covered with plantations. In the *Reconcave* there were fifty-seven sugar-works, the quantity annually exported amounting to about two thousand four hundred hogsheads. Cattle and horses, which had been imported from the *Cape de Verdes*, increased in prodigious numbers. There were persons who possessed forty or fifty brood mares, which might sell at *Pernambuco* for thirty ducats a-piece; sheep and goats likewise flourished, having been imported from Europe.

Oranges and lemons, which the settlers had introduced, had become plentiful. The palm-tree was grown, and likewise the cocoa plant; the melon, the pomegranate, and the vine were not cultivated with such success, being unable to withstand the ravages of the ant. The tea plant had been discovered at *Bahia*, where coffee likewise was grown. Ginger throve so well that in one year four thousand *arrobas* were preserved. The sugar-cane is indigenous in *Brazil*, and was found in plenty near *Rio de Janeiro*. The parasites which fill up the interstices of the Brazilian forests were put to various uses; their juice was applied for the purpose of tanning, and their branches were woven into wicker-work or beaten into tow. These plants form a remarkable feature in Brazilian scenery. They encircle the trees up which they climb only to regain the ground; the same plant there takes root again, crossing from bough to bough and from tree to tree, wherever they may be carried by such breezes as may pierce the almost impermeable jungle.

In some portions of the *Reconcave* saltpetre was to be found; but for lime the colonists were dependent on oyster shells, which, however, were at some points procurable

in great abundance. Fish of various kinds abounded, and oil was extracted from the liver of the shark. At one or two places ambergris was found. The rumours of wealth in the precious metals and stones which were then in circulation have since been amply confirmed.

In *Bahia* there were then said to be more than a hundred persons enjoying an income of five thousand *cruzados*, or two thousand five hundred *ducats*; whilst some settlers possessed plate and gold to a great value. They were supplied with wine from *Madeira* and the *Canaries*. The settlement of *Pernambuco* was not less flourishing; there were fifty sugar-works, the tenths of which were leased for nineteen thousand *cruzados*, or half that number of *ducats*. *Olinda* might contain seven hundred inhabitants, not including those who dwelt in the villas and works in the gardens of its vicinity.

1582. Three thousand men could be brought into the field; and it may be noted that as early as 1582 between four and five thousand African slaves were employed in the Captaincy. About five-and-forty ships came annually for sugar and brazil-wood.

S. Vicente likewise flourished. This Captaincy was situated sufficiently far to the south to admit of the cultivation of wheat and barley. It might also produce wine. *Espirito Santo* and other portions of *Brazil* did not fare so well as those above mentioned. The early settlers in the colony are said to have suffered much from the jiggers and other insects of the country, and it was only with time that they learned the remedies which the natives were accustomed to apply to the attacks of these tormentors. The fleets which had formerly been sent out each year with a reinforcement of young settlers now no longer arrived; and, wholesome as the air of *Brazil* for the most part is, it proved hurtful to many Europeans. The admixture, too, of the three different races, European, Brazilian, and Negro, was said to have generated certain new diseases, or at least new constitu-

tions, in which old diseases took a new form. Complaints of the liver were prevalent, as were those of the eye. But on the whole it was said that in no instance have Europeans suffered so little by transplanted from their own country into one of a very different climate as did the Portuguese in *Brazil*. It may be remarked, however, that the term *Brazil* is a very wide word indeed, comprising as that empire does a space equal to about two-thirds of Europe, and that there are probably far greater variations of climate between its northern and its southern portions, as well as between its highlands and lowlands, than exist between the climate of Lisbon and that of its southern provinces. As to the moral quality of the early settlers, seeing that they comprised a considerable portion of the banished criminal population of the mother country, it is not surprising that the average of crime should for some time have been greater in the colony than in Portugal. The energy of the race, however, at this its heroic period, found ample scope, and as years rolled on the resources of the magnificent territory which had fallen under the Portuguese sceptre were gradually unfolded.

It was long before the French could be persuaded to give up the hope of establishing themselves somewhere in *Brazil*. They made the *Paraíba* their favourite port of trade, where they allied themselves with some savage neighbouring tribes, and caused such trouble to the Portuguese that they themselves resolved to establish fortified settlements on the above-named river. The governor of *San Salvador* deputed this task to Flores de Valdes, who had been sent by Philip II. of Spain, with a fleet of twenty-three vessels, to secure the Straits of *Magellan* when Drake had alarmed him for the safety of his possessions on the Pacific. Valdes had been foiled in his attempts to reach the Straits, and had been driven back to *Bahia* with only six ships. With these and two others he sailed to *Pernambuco*. There

were four French vessels in the *Paraíba*. The French themselves, however, set fire to them, and then joined the savages on shore. The Spanish and Portuguese troops landed without opposition and constructed a fortress; but its commander could not long maintain it against the *Pitagoares*, and made a hasty retreat to *Itamaraca*. It was, however, again recovered by means of a fresh reinforcement from *Pernambuco*.

The name of England is at this period for the first time brought into prominent notice in connection with *Brazil*, which, being a colony of a country now under the Spanish crown, was subject to the warlike operations of the enemies of Spain. In 1582 an English expedition, destined for the East, and commanded by Admiral Fenton, reached the coast of *Brazil* and anchored off *San Vicente*, where an English vessel had previously come to trade. Indeed a trade had some time since sprung up between Plymouth and Southern *Brazil*, the first merchant navigator mentioned being the father of Sir John Hawkins, who made two voyages, in 1530 and 1532, respectively. The expedition under Fenton merely called for peaceful objects, and did not commit any act of hostility; but the proceedings of Drake had already drawn down the hatred of all Spaniards on his countrymen; and Flores, having been informed of the presence of English vessels at *San Vicente*, made for that place and prepared to attack them. The action began in the evening and was fought by moonlight. One of the Spanish ships was sunk, and in the course of the following day the English vessels put to sea. It is recorded to the credit of their humane commander that he refrained from sinking another of the Spanish vessels, not wishing to cause a needless loss of life.

1586. Four years later another English expedition sailed for the South Sea, but of a less pacific nature. Lord Cumberland was at its head, but Withrington was in active command, and of two privateers which accompanied it, one had been fitted out by Raleigh. From information

which they obtained from Portuguese vessels which they had captured, they resolved to attack *San Salvador*, and accordingly made for *Bahia*. The safety of that place is said to have been due to the presence of converted Indians, who had been gathered together there, and who constituted a formidable force of archers; but the English remained six weeks in the bay, doing much damage to the neighbouring country.

The next English privateer of whom we read in connection with *Brazil* is Cavendish, who sent two of his vessels to attack the town of *Santos*. The inhabitants were surprised at mass, and the one man who resisted was slain, the rest being detained prisoners in church. They contrived to escape, however, at night, and took good care to make away with all their portable property; so that when Cavendish arrived some days later he found neither inhabitants nor provisions. The result was that after remaining several weeks the fleet had to depart worse provisioned than when it had arrived. The next exploit of Cavendish was to burn *San Vicente* on his way to the Straits, which, however, he failed to pass. His ships being dispersed in a storm, he put back alone to the coast of *Brazil*, and landed twenty-five men near *Santos*, with instructions to seize provisions and return forthwith. But of this party not a man returned. They were seized by the natives, and only two were spared to be carried prisoners to *Santos*.

Cavendish was now joined by another vessel of his squadron, and made for *Espirito Santo*. It not being deemed prudent for the ships to attempt to cross the bar, a party of eighty men were sent over it in boats, the orders of their commander, Captain Morgan, being to discover a good landing-place near the town. Disobeying the positive commands of his superior, he landed with a number of his men, with the result that he was himself killed, together with a large proportion of his force, upon which Cavendish left the coast of *Brazil* in

despair, and died, it is said, of grief on his homeward voyage.

1594. The next English expedition to *Brazil* was better designed. Three ships, the largest of them being of about two hundred and forty tons, were fitted out by certain citizens of London, and sailed under the command of James Lancaster, who was well acquainted with the Portuguese, having lived amongst them. *Pernambuco* was his point of attack, and for this purpose he secured two Frenchmen as interpreters in the language of the neighbouring natives. One of his vessels, commanded by Barker, had to put back to refit, but this officer rejoined him off Cape *Blanco*, having already captured four-and-twenty Spanish and Portuguese sail. They then made for *Pernambuco*, and on the way fell in with another English squadron under Captain Venner, consisting of four vessels. Venner readily agreed to assist Lancaster in securing a rich prize from a ship from India which had been wrecked near *Olinda*, at the port of which place her cargo was stowed. Venner was to receive a fourth of the value of the prize.

They arrived off *Recife* towards the end of March, 1595, where they discovered three large Dutch ships lying at the entrance. Lancaster manned five of his prizes, with orders to board the Dutch vessels should they offer opposition. His men were embarked in boats, and he himself took command of the galley, rowed by eighty of his ship's company. This happened at night, and when morning came they found that the boats had drifted half a mile to the north. It was now ebb-tide, and they were forced to remain off the port in full sight of the place; but they had the satisfaction of seeing the Dutch vessels move away from the entrance. About noon, Lancaster received a message from the governor, requesting to know his object. The reply, given in curt seaman's terms, was that he wanted the Indian prize, and that he meant to have it. On this declaration the

Portuguese manned the small work at the mouth of the harbour and collected their entire force of six hundred men. At two o'clock the tide turned, when Lancaster led the way, running his boat on shore immediately under the battery, the other boat's crew following his example. The place was then gallantly stormed; upon which Lancaster made signal for his ships to enter the harbour. He left a garrison in the fort and planted its guns against *Olinda*; after this he marched on *Recife*, which place he found abandoned, and where he obtained the sought-for prize.

The admiral now displayed much prudence. As his booty could not readily be removed, he put the Isthmus of *Recife* in a state of defence. This done, he opened communication with the Dutch vessels, which he chartered to take cargoes to England. He likewise obtained assistance from some French vessels which soon afterwards arrived, and to which he parted with valuable stores that were in excess of his own requirements. He obstinately refused to enter into parley with the authorities of *Olinda*, going on board ship when their envoys came to seek him. Meanwhile the work of lading went on; and in repulsing an attack which was made upon his force he was so fortunate as to secure some small carts, which were invaluable for transporting his spoil. He likewise captured a Portuguese ship with forty hands, whom he employed to relieve his own men in the work of carrying.

The Portuguese, however, were not idle meanwhile. During three weeks they made repeated attacks on the English, who were always compelled to fight for their supply of water. They next set five small vessels on fire, and let them float down the stream; but for this attempt Lancaster was prepared, and the fire-ships were stopped by grappling-irons and chains. A week later, at midnight, three blazing rafts came down the stream, having long poles attached to their sides to prevent their

being grappled, and likewise having sparkling fireworks. The English, however, laid wet cloths on their powder, flasks, and oars, and, seeing the necessity of stopping them at all hazards, succeeded in doing so. The attempts of the Portuguese to cut the cables of the enemy's ships were likewise baffled. Whilst they were preparing a third attempt to fire the ships, Lancaster, having now got his booty on board, was ready to depart. On the day of departure, however, in consequence of the state of the tide, it was necessary to delay till the evening; and in the attempt to destroy a battery which was being prepared by the Portuguese, some three hundred French and English were led into an ambuscade, losing thirty-five of their number, amongst them the vice-admiral, Barker. The same evening eleven richly-laden vessels set sail, and all safely reached their destination.

So well had Nobrega's system been followed by his successors that, in the course of half a century, all the natives along the coast of *Brazil*, where Portuguese settlements extended, were collected in villages under their superintendence; whilst, on the other hand, so successfully had the slave-hunters practised their arts in setting one tribe of natives against another that the number of the latter was very greatly reduced. It thus happened that both missionaries and slave-hunters had now to penetrate much farther into the interior than heretofore, in search either of converts or of captives; and in this way fresh portions of the vast territory were from time to time discovered. About the year 1594, Rifault, a French adventurer, who had previously visited the coast of *Brazil*, returned to that country with three vessels, one of which he lost near *Maranhã*, on which island he took refuge. Having returned to Europe, his people were now headed by the *Sieur des Vaux*, who persuaded the islanders to own the rule of the French. With this concession he too returned to France, and sub-

mitted to Henri IV. a project for taking possession of the considerable island of *Maranhã*. The king listened with satisfaction, and sent back Des Vaux, accompanied by a commissioner of rank, by whose report he was to be guided; but before the report could be made Henri had been assassinated.

Permission was, however, granted to form a company for the purpose of colonizing *Maranhã*, and certain gentlemen were appointed lieutenants-general in the *West Indies* and *Brazil*. The expedition was fitted out in Brittany, and sailed in March 1612; and, after a severe voyage, it reached the island of *Fernando Noronha*, whence it proceeded to *Maranhã*. The islanders put themselves, as had been expected, under the protection of France, and their example was followed by two tribes on the mainland. The Cross and the French flag were planted side by side. Unfortunately, however, for the French, the Brazilian Government had just at this time turned its attention in the same direction; and before any tidings of the above proceedings had reached Madrid, orders had been sent out to prosecute the discovery and conquest of the river *Amazons* and the adjoining regions. The governor was ordered to fix his residence at *Olinda* in order to push on the expedition, to the command of which Geronymo de Albuquerque was appointed. He was later joined by Compos Moreno. Their progress, however, was slow, and in due time they came into collision with the French, of whose presence in that region the Brazilian authorities now for the first time became aware. It so happened that the officer who made the discovery was prevented by contrary winds from returning from *Maranhã* to *Pernambuco*. He was driven to the Spanish Main, whence he set sail for Spain. On his arrival there he immediately despatched his pilot to *Brazil* to warn the authorities, whilst he himself proceeded for the same purpose to Madrid. In this way the colonial government heard of the

French occupation of *Maranhã* not from *Brazil*, but from Europe.

Fresh instructions were now sent out to the governor, with stringent orders to direct his whole attention towards the island of *Maranhã*. The preparations for that object were accordingly pushed forward with renewed vigour; and in course of time the expedition reached the port of *Peria*, in the vicinity of *Maranhã*, to examine which a reconnoitering party was now sent out. From a deserter the Portuguese commander learned that the French meant to attack his vessels. He, however, contented himself with drawing them up on shore, and the French victory was confined to securing three of his six ships. The Portuguese, meanwhile, endured such sufferings that a conspiracy was formed amongst the soldiers to blow up the powder-magazine, and thus compel a retreat to *Pernambuco* by land. The question was, however, settled by the arrival of the French commander Rivardiere, with seven ships and many canoes, containing four hundred Frenchmen and four hundred natives. He forthwith ordered half his force to take possession of a hill which commanded the Portuguese encampment, whilst his native allies proceeded to entrench themselves by means of fascines which they had carried with them, and by means of which they kept themselves in communication with the fleet. Albuquerque, seeing that he was thus cut off from the hope of obtaining fresh water, had no alternative but to fight, although his force both of Portuguese and of natives bore a very small proportion to that opposed to him.

Of the two Portuguese chiefs, the one attacked the enemy on the beach; the other undertook to dislodge him from the hill, each having a force of seventy Portuguese and forty natives, whilst a small body was kept in reserve. The Portuguese attack was so well planned that the French on the hill, not perceiving their own

danger, descended to the help of their countrymen, and were unexpectedly charged on the flank. After a short but severe struggle one of their commanders fell, and they retired to their entrenchments on the hill; but the Portuguese, following them, stormed these works likewise and put their defenders to the rout. Rivardiere was so confident in his superiority of numbers that he did not think it necessary to succour his men engaged until the moment had passed for doing so. The tide having now fallen, his canoes were left high and dry on the beach. He attempted to attack the fort, but the muddy shore kept his launches at a distance, and the invalids kept up a brisk fire upon him. One hundred and fifteen of his men were left dead on the field, whilst nine were taken prisoners.

A correspondence now took place between the commanders on either side, as a result of which the following terms were proposed—namely, that there should be a truce till the end of the following year, whilst meanwhile two cavaliers, the one French, the other Portuguese, should proceed to France, and likewise two to Spain, to lay the matter before their sovereigns; and that when the determination of the two courts should arrive, the party which should receive orders to remove should evacuate the country, the prisoners meanwhile being released. Rivardiere further bound himself to withdraw his ship and allow free ingress to the supplies which the Portuguese expected. These articles were duly signed, and accordingly two vessels were sent with commissioners to France and Spain respectively.

But the terms of the convention were not long observed. After a while Albuquerque began to receive reinforcements; and finding himself in sufficient strength, he now informed Rivardiere that he had received instructions stating that these countries belonged to the Portuguese crown, and that he was therefore under the necessity of considering the treaty between them as annulled. The

French commander now agreed to evacuate the island of *Maranhã* within five months, on condition that the Portuguese should pay for the artillery to be left there, thus to enable him to pay for transports for his people. As security for his good faith he surrendered one of the forts, of which Albuquerque took possession; but from the length of time for which he stipulated before his withdrawal, it is probable that he calculated on something occurring meanwhile which might render that operation unnecessary.

Campos had meanwhile reached Lisbon, where he pressed upon the Government the necessity of sending out reinforcements without loss of time. He himself returned with adequate succours for that purpose to *Pernambuco*, where he found the governor busily employed towards the same end. Their united force amounted to nine hundred men, who were embarked in seven ships. Campos had left *Maranhã* for Europe in 1615. January 1615, and he returned to that island early in October of the same year, the supreme command of the expedition being now given to De Moura, the late captain of *Pernambuco*. In flagrant breach of the second convention with Rivardiere, the French were now attacked in Fort *St. Louis*, whither they had retired. The French commander submitted unconditionally, and was allowed to sail for France with four hundred of his countrymen. By his incapacity in treating with the Portuguese when his superiority at sea put it within his power to cut off their provisions, the island of *Maranhã* was lost to France.

The next enemy with whom the Portuguese had to contend were of a different race. The Dutch had begun to trade on the north of the *Amazons*, and had established factories on some of the numerous islands at its mouth. They had given out to the natives that a fleet would soon arrive to establish a colony, and when this intelligence reached Caldeira (a Portuguese officer who had

been sent north from *Maranhã* with two hundred men to establish a settlement on the *Amazons*), it was confirmed by the arrival of a large Dutch vessel. The ship was attacked by his orders, but the Dutchmen defended themselves so well that they could not be conquered save by setting fire to the vessel. This new Captaincy, which was called *Pará*, was disturbed with serious dissensions, which led to Caldeira, the governor, being put in chains by his mutinous garrison. The colony had likewise to encounter long-continued hostility on the part of the natives. A new governor was sent out from Lisbon, with orders to send home as prisoners both Caldeira and the officer who had accepted the government in his place from the mutineers. When this was done, the war against the natives was prosecuted, and they were successfully hunted down by a ruffian called Maciel, whose object seemed to be to exterminate them. If this were his purpose, it was still further assisted by the fearful havoc caused at this time amongst them by the small-pox.

In the year 1622 a new governor-general brought with him some Jesuits; but the appearance of these Fathers in *Maranhã* excited a tumult against them; for, much to the credit of their order, it had set itself in systematic opposition to the iniquitous conduct of the Portuguese towards the natives. A compromise had to be arrived at, by which the Jesuits agreed, under pain of banishment and the confiscation of their property, not to interfere with the domesticated natives. As a wide belt of desolation had been placed round the Portuguese settlements by Maciel, it was somewhat difficult for the Fathers to find any other natives to exercise their influence upon. About this time much was done to explore the region of the Lower *Amazons*, in which service it is to be admitted that Maciel, who was now captain of *Pará*, was as energetic as he was ever savage in his bearing towards the Indians. At the river *Curupá*

some of his people found Dutch, English, and French adventurers, who had made trenches for their defence, and had enlisted natives to assist them. From this post they were driven by Maciel, who destroyed their factories both on the *Curupá* and on the island of *Tocujuz*.

Having effected this congenial work, he returned to *Belem*, now called *Pará*. His new conquests were considered at Madrid to be of such consequence as to deserve to be erected into a separate government, partly on account of the difficulty of communication between *Maranhão* and *Pernambuco*. But the days were at hand when the natives were to be avenged by the arm of another European nation for the wrongs which they had suffered from Maciel and his like.

NOTE.—Chapters V., IX., XV. and XVI. of vol. I. are founded on "History of Brazil;" by Robert Southey. Longman. 1810.

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CHAPTER XVI.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JESUITS IN PARAGUAY.

1608-1648.

THE town of *Buenos Ayres*, once permanently established, soon became a considerable place; and that notwithstanding its incommodious and unsafe harbour. Forty years after its foundation (1620) it was declared a separate colony, which was to comprise all the regions in *La Plata* below the confluence of the *Paraguay* and the *Paraná*. It likewise became the seat of a bishop, and in fifty years from its foundation numbered as many inhabitants as *Asuncion*. The colony of *Tucuman* had been founded in 1564, but it did not, like *Paraguay*, have the advantage of river communication with the ocean, nor did it benefit by the direction of a master mind such as that of *Irala*. Notwithstanding this, the jurisdiction of the governor of *Tucuman* was in 1596 extended over *Paraguay*. The governor deputed a very able substitute to administer the latter province in the person of *Hernando Saavedra*, whose capacity for administration is considered to have been only surpassed by that of *Irala*.

Saavedra, after much exploration in the territories inhabited by the native tribes, deemed that it would be better to attach rather than to weaken or exterminate them, and that for this purpose it would be advisable to use every means for converting them to Christianity. For this end he appealed to the court of Spain, and in 1608 Philip III. took the memorable decision of issuing the royal letters-patent to the Order of Jesus for the conversion of the Indians of the province of

1608.

Guayrá, which district comprised both banks of the upper *Paraná* to the east of *Asuncion*. In this region the towns of *Onteveros*, *Ciudad Real*, and *Villa Rica* had been founded as early as 1554 by *Don Ruy Diaz de Melgarejo*.

1610. Two Jesuit priests reached *Asuncion* in 1610, the modest vanguard of a formidable army. From the very date of their arrival they displayed the usual zeal of their order, and the first *reduction* was established on the upper *Paraná*. It was called *Loreto*, and the neighbouring natives were invited to resort thither, to receive instruction and to become members of the community, which was entirely under Jesuit control. As others of the order arrived, other *reductions* were formed. On reaching *Asuncion* the earliest Jesuit Fathers found the colony distracted by rivalries and controversies between the secular and the religious authorities. The first bishop of *Paraguay* was a Franciscan.

The policy which had been initiated and pursued by Irala of incorporating the natives with the governing body had fallen into at least partial disuse. Although the natives of *Paraguay* had not to complain of the same harsh treatment from their Spanish conquerors as had the Peruvians, their condition still left much to desire. They were not slaves in name, nor could they be purchased or sold, but they were nevertheless compelled to labour in the interest of others who had no responsibility for their care or support. The priests, as befitting their character, were willing and anxious to better their condition; but the colonists were loth to permit their interference in secular matters. Still their presence was not without its result, if only in its leading to its being considered more respectable to treat the natives as human beings rather than as the lower animals. Such being the state of society on the arrival of the Jesuits, whose professed object was the redemption of the natives, their coming was by no means welcomed by the colonists.

Asuncion was, however, for the meantime spared, for the scene of action of the first Jesuit Fathers was at some three hundred miles' distance in the three settlements above mentioned. Of these settlements, and of the *reduction* of *Loreto*, scarcely a vestige now remains. The early settlers suffered so much from the natives and from the hostile Portuguese, that the province was abandoned. Twice was the site of *Villa Rica* changed, and the present town of that name dates from 1678. The Fathers then descending the river, established themselves in the district of *Misiones*, on the left bank of the *Paraná*, a district which is at the present day, and has long been, in dispute between *Brazil* and her neighbour. The early success of the Jesuits in converting the natives was very remarkable; but it may be as well to remember that it is the Jesuits themselves, and not independent writers, who have chronicled the fact. The Paraguayans, they say, not only embraced the faith, but voluntarily entered the *reductions*, and accepted the rule of the spiritual teachers. Before their coming the name of the foreigner had been terrible. The Spaniards, disappointed in finding gold, had taken possession of the territory, forcing the Paraguayans to a lot of unrequited drudgery. The Jesuits, however, had come to live and to die amongst them, seeking nothing for themselves but to be allowed to teach the arts of civilization and to show the way to paradise. It is not surprising that the contrast between their ways and those of their secular countrymen should have won the natives' confidence. Indeed, as one of the conditions granted by the crown to the founders of the *reductions* was that these were to be free from all colonial control, the Paraguayans would at first sight seem to be the gainers by entering them. It was one of the principles of the order that the natives should not be subjected to unrecompensed labour.

It is somewhat remarkable that whilst the system and labours of the Jesuits in *Paraguay* are spoken of by

most Protestant writers with almost unqualified praise, they are denounced in unmeasured terms by their Catholic rivals the Franciscans. It is not to be questioned that the early members of the order—the immediate disciples of Loyola—were actuated in their mission by no other motive than the most self-sacrificing and disinterested zeal; but these men were succeeded by others of a different stamp, and as time wore on the Jesuit rulers of *Paraguay* might enjoy a life of indolence and luxury. During the first twenty-five years of their mission they founded no less than ten towns; but the historian Azara points out that these twenty-five years precisely coincides with the time when the Portuguese furiously persecuted the natives in order to sell them into slavery. The frightened fugitives took refuge in the region between the *Uruguay* and the *Paraná*, and crowded into the Jesuit towns. During the following hundred years or more only one other town was established. Thus it appears that Portuguese rapacity had not a little to do with the establishment of Jesuit rule at *Paraguay*.

The career of the Jesuits, however, was not destined to run on with uniform smoothness. A governor of *Paraguay* was appointed whose policy and interest were not in unison with theirs. Cespedes was married to a Portuguese lady, whose sympathies were rather with her man-stealing countrymen than with the people ruled over by her husband. During his visit at *Rio de Janeiro* on his way to his government, Cespedes, it is said, so far fell into the hands of the Brazilians as to make a bargain with them by which he was to assist them in kidnapping those whom he had been sent to govern and protect. He resolved to pass by land to *Asuncion*. The first point he reached within Spanish territory was *Loreto*, on the banks of a tributary of the *Paraná*. There the Jesuits awaited his coming with joyful anticipation, which was soon to be changed to dismay. The estates of the *Señora* Cespedes in *Brazil* were in need of labourers,

and the conscientious governor made a pact with the slave-hunters to facilitate their operations on condition of receiving six hundred of their captives. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the missionary establishments of *Guayrá* should have fallen an easy prey. The early neophytes were carried off by thousands and sold into slavery. Having no protection to look for at *Asuncion*, the remainder fled, to the number of twelve thousand. The Fathers accompanied them until they were, as they thought, at a safe distance in the region now known as *Misiones*. In their new *reductions* the Jesuits continued their work of proselytizing, and, after the dismissal of Cespedes, tried various means of acquiring influence at *Asuncion*. Nor were they unsuccessful. The natives not unnaturally preferred their rule to that of the civil authorities, and consequently the *reductions* grew powerful. The result was that the government became jealous, and that the Franciscans, headed by the bishop, took means to rid themselves of their successful neighbours and rivals.

The Jesuits appealed to Spain and likewise to the Pope, with the result that their representative obtained for them a royal grant, which rendered the missions independent of the government of *Paraguay*. They were likewise permitted to provide the natives with firearms, to be used in self-defence. When the next raid was made by the slave-hunters, they were so well received that, though they were a thousand in number, few escaped to tell of their surprise and defeat. The missions were no more troubled by men-stealers from *Brazil*.

But the Jesuits had still to contend with the rival ecclesiastics of *Asuncion*. The Bishop of *Paraguay*, Cardenas, was at this time a prominent figure. He is said to have hated the Jesuits with a fervour which is seldom more evoked than in religious animosities; but he by no means confined his attention to them. It was an age when all men dreaded the curse of Rome, and

Cardenas was nothing loth to use this terrible weapon. Amongst others who fell under his ban was Hinostrosa, the governor of the colony, who had ventured to differ from him upon some matter which does not appear. The people were scandalized at the governor's disgrace; and in fear of a tumult the bishop withdrew from the capital. He was followed by the penitent governor, who sought and obtained the removal of the anathema. The bishop having now the civil as well as the spiritual power virtually in his hands, lost no time in making it felt by the Jesuits. They were prohibited from preaching within *Asuncion*, and their schools were closed. But if the governor was subdued by the ecclesiastical authority, the Viceroy of *Charcas* and his council were not. The governor of *Paraguay* was severely reprimanded for having submitted himself to an arrogant prelate, who was in turn denounced, and was compelled to retire for some years from *Asuncion*.

On his return to that city, the governor died; and as in this emergency the choice of a successor lay with the people, the Bishop Cardenas was now elected to rule in his stead. Once more he was in possession of full power, and once more he lost no time in proclaiming his determination to use it for the expulsion of the Jesuits. Having, under threats of excommunication, collected a large crowd of people capable of bearing arms, he demanded the surrender of the Jesuits' College. In vain its rector protested that his order exercised their rights under a royal grant. The doors were forced open, and the priests and neophytes were driven out. These having been brought to the river, were placed in boats and cast adrift without sail or oar. The college was then sacked, and the statues of Loyola and Xavier dragged from their pedestals. This violence was the natural prelude of the bishop's own fall. He was summoned for trial before the Grand Council of *Peru*, and finally deposed from all authority.

The deposition of Cardenas was the signal for the recall of the Jesuits, and for some time to come they were masters of the situation. There still existed, however, continual jealousy and discord between them and the Franciscans; and the civil authorities were disposed to side with the latter. The Jesuits nevertheless applied themselves with undiminished earnestness to acquire power in *Asuncion*. By establishing and controlling the schools, they obtained the direction of the rising generation; and the missions were by this time rich and flourishing. Outside the *reductions* the natives preferred the Jesuit rule to that of the civil authorities, as the former repudiated slavery; whilst within the *reductions* the servitude to which they were subjected was disguised under another name. It was labour for the common benefit.

The systems of the Spanish governors and of the Jesuit Fathers, respectively, were widely different, and require some explanation. From the first advent of the former a mixed race gradually sprung up. The Spaniards brought with them few if any women, and if a certain proportion of Spanish ladies arrived later they were not in sufficient numbers to affect the general rule, which was that the Spanish settlers were allied to *Guaraní* wives. Thus was formed the modern mixed Paraguayan race. In a very short time, therefore, by means of the ties of relationship, a strong sympathy grew up between the Spaniards and the *Guaranís* or those of *Guaraní* blood, and a recognition of this fact formed the basis of the plan of government founded by the great Irala. The lot of the natives of *Paraguay*, as compared with the natives of the other Spanish dominions in the New World, was far from being a hard one. There were no mines to work. The Spaniards came there to settle, rather than to amass fortunes with which to return to Europe. The country was abundantly fertile, and such wealth as the Spaniards might amass consisted in the produce of their fields or the

increase of their herds, which were amply sufficient to support them. Consequently all they required of the natives, for the most part, was a moderate amount of service as labourers or as herdsmen, whilst in return they were in a position to impart to the Paraguayans many of the arts of civilization.

The Jesuits, on the other hand, admitted no other Europeans within the bounds of their *reductions*, and having themselves no ties of kindred by marriage or otherwise with those around them, remained a distinct class apart. Their disciples were not even instructed in the Spanish or any other European tongue, save so much, perhaps, as was implied by their being taught to patter certain prayers by rote. As to their temporal concerns, they laboured, as it was said, for the common weal, but they were, in fact, reduced to a condition of the most utter servitude imaginable. Not only had they, like their native brethren beyond the limits of the *reductions*, to give their labour in the fields and in tending the herds, but when this was done the whole of their produce—beyond that necessary for their own sustenance—went into the common Jesuits' fund,—that is to say, went towards building and adorning splendid churches, many of which, with their carved ornaments of the finest wood, remain to this day when the race that produced them is no more. Nor was this the only labour that fell upon such of the natives as were enticed into life-long servitude for "the greater glory of God." It was necessary to seclude them from the temptations of the outer world, and for this purpose each *reduction* was converted into a fortress, so contrived as at the same time to preclude the entrance of strangers from without and the exit of disciples from within. The Paraguayans who had submitted themselves to the Jesuits' absolute sway were thus cunningly made the artificers of the chains that bound them. It is going considerably in advance of the period now in question to advert to the reigns of Francia and

the second Lopez, but it may be permitted here to point out that, in thus inducing a system of utter mental and moral imbecility, the Jesuit Fathers are undoubtedly responsible for the untold misery which was brought about under these tyrants, and which at length resulted in the extinction of the Paraguayan race.

The Jesuits have been their own historians; therefore the following details, written by themselves, must be read with the reflection that there was no contemporary critic to bequeath another side of the picture. Quitting the lower banks of the *Plata*, already covered with innumerable cattle on boundless plains which showed a perpetual verdure, the Jesuits, on their way to their destination, were shocked, on touching at the island of *S. Gabriel*, by beholding a tribe of idolaters who inspired terror in their neighbourhood and probably still more at home, since we learn that they put their women to death on attaining the age of thirty. After traversing about a thousand miles of river they reached the *Guaraní* missions, comprising thirty settlements. On the western coast, and further to the north, were the *Chiquito* missions, with which the others maintained a correspondence, which until the early part of the eighteenth century could only be effected by way of *Peru*, along a route of eight hundred leagues, intersected by streams only fordable at certain seasons. The shorter way from the *Plata* to the *Chiquito* missions was jealously closed by the *Guaranís*.

The *Guaranís* were of two classes—hunters and fishermen. The former ignored the use of saddles, but passed their time for the most part on the horses which had followed the Spaniards. The fishermen adored a demon who manifested itself in the form of a large bird. It was at length determined by the Jesuits to attempt to penetrate to the *Chiquito* settlements of their brethren by way of the *Uruguay* river; and two Fathers, accompanied by thirty Paraguayan disciples, set out with this object from *Asuncion*. They had ascended about a hundred

leagues when they were met by a boat, carrying *Payaguas*, who, being placed between two enemies, implored the aid of the Jesuits. To the west were their sworn foes, the *Guaycurus*; to the east were the Brazilian slave-hunters. This natural cry for help was interpreted as a prayer for admission within the Church's pale, and one of the Fathers remained with his converts at the Lake of *Uberada*, while the other proceeded alone towards *Peru*.

The sudden conversion of the natives, however, which had resulted from terror, lasted only as long as the Jesuits and their party remained sufficiently strong to overawe them. Left with one Father and fifteen Paraguayans, they obtained leave to depart for the purpose of bringing others to share the Father's instruction. On their return in sufficient numbers to overpower him, fourteen of his Paraguayans were put to death, one being reserved as interpreter; one of the Spanish boatmen was likewise spared to steer the *Payaguas* to their former haunts. There the interpreter was put to death in the defence of his master, who, however, together with his brother Jesuit, was almost immediately afterwards murdered by the *Guaycurus*.

About the same period there were in *Buenos Ayres* some twenty thousand Africans who could not speak Spanish. In order to be able to administer spiritual food to these, Father Chomé studied the tongue of *Angola*, in which in the course of three months he acquired such proficiency that he was able to persuade himself that the Africans understood his attempts to expound the doctrines of Christianity. His linguistic powers marked him out for service in *Peru*, but his destination was changed to *Paraguay*. He was conveyed thither in a covered cart, carrying with him his own bedding and provisions. The neighbourhood of *Santa Fè* was then infested by the *Guaycurus*, who were even daring enough to attack that town. They gave no quarter, and carried as trophies the scalps of their victims. Their weapons were bows and

arrows, lances and darts, which rebounded by means of a string fastened to the projector's thumb. Issuing from their ambuscades, and giving utterance to wild cries, they inspired still further terror by their aspect, being enclosed in a suit composed of feathers. They had already attained perfection in horsemanship, now falling flat on the animals' necks, now swinging their persons beneath their girths and holding on by their feet, or throwing themselves from one side to the other as occasion might require. If it seemed desirable to abandon their steeds and take to the river or thicket, they were as fishes in the former, and could defy the thorns of the latter.

Beset by these savages, Father Chomé was indebted to his escort for his arriving without accident at *Santa Fè*, where he was still two hundred and twenty leagues from the nearest of the *reductions*. The carts in use were but little suited to a country intersected by streams, and where bridges were unknown. On reaching a stream the waggon was unloaded and attached to the tails of horses, who struggled as best they could to the opposite shore. Such travellers as could not swim were committed to small boats formed of a single ox-hide, with the almost unnecessary injunction to sit still in them. In the *pelotas*, too, the loads were transported. From *Santa Fè* Father Chomé proceeded towards his destination on horseback.

After the greater part of the *Guaranis* had embraced Christianity, a section still refused to listen to the voice of the missionaries, and sought an asylum in the adjoining mountains. Their grieved would-be converters for a while consoled themselves with the reflection that the sudden change from the burning *pampas* plains to the snows of the *Andes* would suffice to exterminate the heathen; but when they were disappointed in this pious wish, and when the tribesmen, who had, on the contrary, increased in numbers, ventured to murder some Domini-

cans, the vengeance of the authorities was roused, and their mountains were invaded, with the result that many hundreds of them were made prisoners or slain.

The Jesuit missions, where were renewed the innocence and piety of the early Christians, numbered towards the close of the seventeenth century forty large establishments, the most considerable of which included from fifteen to twenty thousand souls. The chief of each mission and the judge were chosen year by year. The fruits of the land were placed in public magazines, from which each family received its allotted share. So remarkable was the innocence of the *Guarani* converts that the Fathers own that their pupils' confessions seldom or never revealed anything to call for absolution. They denied to the Paraguayans any share of inventive genius, but claimed for them on the other hand the greatest powers of imitation. They could make tables, print or copy books, imitate the finest writing, construct musical instruments and watches, draw plans and engrave maps. It was not without labour that their conversion was brought about; but once effected, it was sincere and lasting, and there were no bounds to the attachment they evinced towards their spiritual fathers.

The following extract, translated from *Azara*, may give some further idea of the system pursued by the Jesuits. The historian's knowledge is derived from eye-witnesses, and his statements of fact, though not his conclusions, agree with those of the Fathers:—

“The thirty-three Jesuit missions were ruled in the following manner: Two Jesuits resided in each *pueblo*. The one called the *cura* had either been provincial or rector in their colleges, or was at least a grave *padre*. He did not exercise any of the functions of a *cura*, and frequently did not know the language of the Indians. He occupied himself only with the temporal administration of all the property of the *pueblo*, of which he was the

absolute director. The spiritual department was confided to another Jesuit, called *compañero*, or *vice-cura*, subordinate to the first. The Jesuits of all the *pueblos* were under the superintendence and vigilance of another, named the *superior* of the missions, who had, moreover, the power to confirm from the Pope. To control these *pueblos* they had no laws, either civil or criminal; the only rule was the will of the Jesuits. Though in each *pueblo* there was an Indian called a *corregidor*, and others called *alcaldes* and *rejidores* (mayor and aldermen), that formed a municipal body like that which they have in Spanish colonies, no one of them exercised the least jurisdiction, and they were only instruments that served to execute the will of the *curas*, even in criminal cases. The *curas* who inflicted the punishments were never cited before the king nor before any of the ordinary tribunals. They compelled the Indians of both sexes and of every age to labour for the community, without permitting any person to labour at all for himself. All must obey the orders of the *cura*, who stored up the produce of the labour, and who had the charge of supplying food and clothing to all. From this it is seen that the Jesuits were absolutely masters of everything; that they completely disposed of the surplus stock of the whole community; and that all the Indians were equal, without distinction, and unable to possess any private property. There could be no motive of emulation to induce them to exercise their talents or their reason, since the most able, the most virtuous, the most active, was not better fed or clothed than the others, nor would he obtain any enjoyment that was not common to all. The Jesuits have persuaded the world that this kind of government was the only one suitable for the Indians, and had rendered happy those who were like children, and incapable of taking care of themselves. They add, that they direct them as a father governs his family, and that they collect and keep in the storehouses the pro-

ducts of the harvests, not for private use, but to make a proper distribution to their children, who, incapable of provision, do not know how to preserve anything for the sustenance of their families. This manner of government had appeared in Europe worthy of such great encomiums, that the lot of these Indians has almost come to be envied. But this is done without reflecting that these same Indians in a savage state did know how to support their families, and that individuals of the same Indians that had been subjugated in *Paraguay* lived an age before in a state of liberty, without knowing of such community of goods, without the necessity of being directed by any person, nor of being incited or forced to labour, and without a public storehouse or distribution of the harvest; and that, too, notwithstanding they had to support the charge of the commanderies that took the sixth part of their annual labour. It seems, then, they were not such children, nor were they so incapable as the Fathers tried to make them appear. But were such incapacity certain, from their not having sufficient time in a century and a half to correct such defects, one of the two following causes appears reasonable,—either the administration of the Jesuits was contrary to the civilization of the Indians, or they were such a people as were incapable of emerging from their primitive state of infancy.”

Previously to the foundation of the Jesuit *reductions*, posts had been established in various parts by the Spaniards for purposes of trade and local government. Several of these were in the neighbourhood of the Jesuits' settlements. But the order would not tolerate the presence of Europeans near them. They complained in pathetic tones of the hardships endured by the natives at the hands of the avaricious Spanish superintendents, who not only exacted from them one-sixth part of their produce, but showed them a pernicious example in the way of morality, and thus interfered with the Jesuits'

religious teaching. These complaints having been forwarded to the court of Spain, the superintendents were withdrawn and their posts abolished, thus leaving the Jesuits in sole control of the territory of *Misiones*. This decision is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Jesuits were not only not under Spanish rule, but were not even for the most part of the nation which had produced their founder. Nor did they pay tax or tribute to the crown.

But the exercise of absolute power within their own territory did not satisfy the ambitious order. They sought to make their influence felt and visible everywhere, and in so seeking paved the way for their downfall. Their first idea was to gain control over the rising generation by giving gratuitous instruction to the youth of wealthy families; and, warned by their previous experience, they prepared themselves against future reverses by raising from amongst their neophytes a very considerable standing army. They could at a very early period of their reign bring into the field a force of some seven thousand men.

CHAPTER XVII.

*ENGLISH NAVIGATORS IN SOUTH AMERICA,
HAWKINS, DRAKE, AND RALEIGH.*

1564-1618.

WE are all familiar with the names of certain English navigators with reference to Spanish South America; but it is somewhat difficult to introduce a notice of their deeds at the precise date when they occurred, without interrupting the course of the general narrative. Neither do their actions belong especially to any ocean or country. They appeared sometimes on the Atlantic and at others on the Pacific; sometimes on the Isthmus of *Darien*, at others on the coast of *Peru*. They plundered the enemy wherever they found him vulnerable, and treated the inhabitants of one side of the continent and of the other with perfect impartiality. I have therefore thought it better to gather together in one chapter some short records of the deeds of certain amongst the most famous of these free-lances of the ocean.

Foremost amongst the English navigators to Spanish American waters comes the redoubtable Hawkins. That he was an admirable seaman and a most courageous man, no one will question. He was likewise as patriotic as it was possible for man to be, and was most considerate and fair towards those under his command, by whom he seems to have been respected and beloved. But it may help to form a more correct opinion of the age in which he lived, and may serve somewhat to modify our judgment

respecting the Spaniards and Portuguese of the sixteenth century in the matter of slavery, if we remember that Sir John Hawkins, of whom most Englishmen are to a certain extent proud, was, in plain terms, an atrocious slave-dealer. This article was, in fact, the staple commodity in which he trafficked, and he pursued his course to the coast of Africa, there to capture his cargo of negroes, with not a whit more concern for them or their rights than would have been displayed by Rob Roy or by Roderick Dhu for the cattle which they carried off from the Lowlands. It may be well also to bear in mind that his course of life was well known to Queen Elizabeth and Her Ministers, and that Her Majesty, in token of Her approval of his proceedings, placed at his disposal one of Her vessels, the "Jesus" of Lubeck, of 700 tons.

As this work is not intended to throw light on the African slave-trade further than in as far as it concerns South America, it is not necessary to follow Sir John throughout all his nefarious proceedings on the coast of Africa. But one of his voyages, in the course of which he proceeded with his usual cargo, in the year 1564, to *Cape de la Vala*, has for us unusual interest, inasmuch as in the course of its narrative we find the first mention, among English writers, of the potato. It is well known that Raleigh and certain of his companions, at a much later date, brought home with them that root from *Virginia*. It is the case likewise, that, some time before this voyage of Raleigh, Drake had introduced the same plant to these islands; but that our first acquaintance with the potato is due to Hawkins and his expedition of the above-mentioned year will appear from the following extract:—

"Here perceiving no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driven to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called *Cumana*, whither the captaine going in his pinnisse, spake

with certaine Spaniards of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newly come thither, and were not able to by on negro; whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called *Santa Fé*, where we found marveilous goodly watring, and commodious for the taking in thereof; for that the fresh water came into the sea, and so our shippes had aboard the shore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither came down to us, presenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corne called maiz, in bignesse of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a spanne in length having thereon a number of granes. Also they brought down to us Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, knives and other trifles. These potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our passeneps or carets."*

Hawkins and his men kept on their course along the coast, and came on the 3rd of April to a place called *Burboroata*, where the ships came to anchor, and he himself went on shore to speak to the Spaniards, to whom he declared his nationality, and that he came thither for lawful trade, for which he required permission. They made answer that they were forbidden by their king to traffic with any foreign nation, upon pain of forfeiting their goods; they therefore desired him to depart, for they were subjects, and might not go beyond the law. Hawkins, however, who was an impersonation of the *Civis Romanus sum*, was above the law. He replied that his necessity was such as he might not so do; for being in one of the Queen's *armadas* of England, and having many soldiers in them, he had need both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also,

* Hawkins, in Hakluyt.

without which he could not depart. With much other talk he persuaded them not to fear any dishonest part of his towards them; for neither would he commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for dishonest reputation and estimation, unless he were too rigorously dealt withal, which he hoped not to find at their hands.

The Spaniards made answer that it lay not in them to give any licence, for that they had a governor to whom the government of these parts was committed; but if Hawkins would stay ten days longer they would send to their governor, who was three score leagues off, and would return answer within the appointed time.

Meanwhile Hawkins was permitted to bring his ships into harbour and to receive the victuals he required. On the fourth day he went in and received according to promise all things requisite; whereupon the shrewd captain thought to himself that to remain according to his promise for the stipulated ten days, spending victuals and men's wages, would be a mere act of folly. He therefore requested permission to sell certain lean and sick negroes which he had in his ships, like to die upon his hands if he kept them ten days. He was forced to make this request, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals and for necessaries. This request being put in writing and presented, the officers and town-dwellers assembled together; and, finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirty negroes, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should accede to nothing but what was reasonable, for fear of afterwards being called to answer therefor.

But the Spaniards were as much on their guard as was Hawkins, and he found but little demand for his negro wares, since the authorities had decided that none but the poor should be permitted to bid for them. It was a question of bargaining, and Hawkins made pre-

tence of being about to depart, carrying his goods elsewhere. He answered that he not only required permission to sell, but likewise his fair profit; and he thought it due to his character to show by his papers what he had paid for his negroes, and likewise what all the charges of the trade he was engaged in had cost him. As they did not wish for his departure they encouraged him to remain, by telling him that he would get a better price there than anywhere else. He therefore consented to remain, in order that he might dispose of his lean negroes. He disposed of a few next day, but could do nothing more until the arrival of the governor a fortnight later.

Hawkins addressed to the governor a petition asking to be allowed to sell his negroes, which permission was granted him. But perceiving that the Spaniards would neither consent to pay anything like the price he demanded, nor consent to relinquish the king's custom duty of thirty *ducats* on each slave, he determined to take more decisive measures. Accordingly on the 16th of April he prepared one hundred men well armed, with whom he marched against the town. On this demonstration, the governor not unnaturally sent messengers to inquire what it meant, and requiring him to halt until he should have received his answer. The captain, declaring how unreasonable a thing the king's custom was, requested to have the same abated, offering to pay seven and a half per cent. The governor replied that his demand should be granted. Hostages being given, the invaders then departed to their ships, and carried on their traffic for twelve days without disturbance, when Hawkins again made a show of departing, in order to obtain higher prices.

On the 4th of May he actually departed, and on the 6th reached the island of *Curaçao*, where the ships found great refreshment in beef, mutton, and lambs, which were in such plenty that they were given gratis.

The cattle in this island is reported to have increased in such prodigious ratio that of a dozen of each sort originally imported there were to be found in twenty-five years a hundred thousand at least. Fifteen hundred were yearly killed, for the sake only of their skins and tongues.

On the fifteenth of the month they left *Curaçao*, and on the seventeenth anchored near *Cape de la Vela*, and next proceeded to the *Rio de la Hacha*, where Hawkins had again recourse to threats before being permitted to traffic. As they would not accede to his price, however, he shot off a calverin to summon the town, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went on shore, having in his great boat two falcons of brass, the other boats being likewise armed. The townsmen turned out to resist the invasion; but although they were superior in numbers, they soon gave way and sent a flag of truce. A colloquy now occurred between Hawkins and the treasurer, with the result that the former obtained all his requests, receiving hostages for their fulfilment. After some further passages of distrust, the English departed in a friendly manner, their captain receiving at the treasurer's hands a testimonial of his good behaviour. Hawkins then proceeded to *Jamaica*, and thence by *Cuba* and *Florida* for England.

The first acquaintance of Drake with Spanish America was made in the course of a voyage to the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea in the years 1565 and 1566. But the voyage which caused his name first to be placed on record was that in which he accompanied Hawkins in the year 1567. The expedition consisted of six ships, one of them being lent by Queen Elizabeth in token of her approbation of the objects of the voyage. The "Jesus" of Lubeck, a vessel of 700 tons, bore the flag of Hawkins. Two other vessels were commanded respectively by Hampton and by Bolton; whilst the "Judith" was commanded by Captain Francis Drake, he

being then a young man of about twenty-seven. There were in addition two very small vessels, the "Angel" and the "Swallow."

1567. Sailing from Plymouth on the 2nd of October 1567, they reached the *Cape de Verde* islands, after having encountered a terrible storm. Here the admiral landed a hundred and fifty of his men, with the object of procuring a supply of negroes; but in this quest these worthies were disappointed, since they obtained but few, and these with much hurt and damage, for they had to stand a flight of poisoned arrows. Their wounds appeared in the beginning "but small hurts,* yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouths shutte some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; when I myself," says Hawkins, "had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped." These men, it appears died of lockjaw; and considering the cause in which they received their wounds, few will be inclined to pity their fate.

At *St. Jorge da Mina* a negro king came to ask the assistance of Hawkins against a neighbouring king, promising him all the negroes that should be taken. An offer so tempting was not to be rejected, and one hundred and fifty men were selected and sent to assist this black tyrant. They assaulted a town containing some eight thousand inhabitants, strongly paled round, and fenced after their manner, and so well defended that in the assault Hawkins's people had six slain and forty wounded. More help was called for; "whereupon," says Hawkins, "considering that the good success of this enterprise might highly further the commodity of our voyage, I went myself; and with the help of the king of our side, assaulted the town both by land and sea; and very hardly with fire (their houses being covered with palm leaves) obtained the town and put the inhabitants to flight;

* Hakluyt.

where we took two hundred and fifty persons, men, women, and children; and by our friend the king on our side, there were taken six hundred prisoners, whereof we hoped to have our choice; but the negro (in which nation is never or seldom found truth) meant nothing less; for that night he removed his camp and prisoners, so that we were fain to content us with those few that we had gotten ourselves." *

On the coast of *Guinea* they had succeeded in procuring about two hundred more slaves, with which cargo they departed for the West Indies, there to dispose of them to the Spaniards. On the 27th of March they came into sight of *Dominica*, and coasted *Marguerita* and *Cape de la Vela*, carrying on meanwhile, without obstruction, "a tolerable good trade,"—that is to say, parting with their negroes for good terms. At *Rio de la Hacha*, all dealings with the inhabitants being prohibited, the worthy and law-abiding Hawkins was affronted by what he considered an infraction of the treaty between Henry VIII. and Charles V. He determined to chastise the authors of this illegal proceeding, and accordingly attacked the place. Having landed two hundred men, the town was taken by storm, with the loss of only two, the Spaniards having fled after the first volley. After this adventure, trade was connived at, if not permitted. The Spaniards bought two hundred negroes; "and at all other places where we traded the inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly." †

In proceeding towards *Cartagena* they were caught in a terrible storm, which so shattered the "Jesus," that, her rudder being broken, she sprang a leak, and being driven into the bay of *Mexico*, entered the port of *San Juan d'Ulloa*. The disaster which befell Hawkins and his consorts at this place need not here be recorded, since they do not appertain to South American history.

* Hakluyt. Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Drake*, judiciously omits all mention of his hero's share in this slave-hunt.

† Hakluyt.

1572. On the 24th of May, 1572, Captain Drake sailed from Plymouth in the "Pascha," of seventy tons, accompanied by his brother John Drake in the "Swanne," of twenty-five tons, having in all seventy-three men and boys, of whom the oldest man was fifty, all the rest being under thirty. All were volunteers, and the vessels were fitted out as men-of-war. Their destination was *Nombre de Dios*. On the 2nd of July they sighted *Santa Martha*, and landed at *Port Pheasant*, where they found a plate of lead, on which John Garret, an English seaman who had been left here, warned Drake to make haste away, as the place had been betrayed. Drake, however, thought this a convenient spot on which to build his pinnaces, which he had brought with him in frames from England, and which were now completed in seven days.

On the following day he was joined by an English barque of the Isle of Wight, which brought in a captured Spanish *caravel*. The English captain, Rowse, understanding Drake's purpose of attacking *Nombre de Dios*, agreed to act in concert with him. Leaving the three ships and the *caravel* in charge of Rowse, Drake, taking with him fifty-three men, proceeded in four pinnaces and a shallop to the Isles of *Pinos*, which he reached on the 22nd of July, and where he made an alliance with some runaway Indians who had fled from their Spanish masters and were called *Simerons*. Proceeding silently by night, he came before *Nombre de Dios*, where he landed without opposition. He and his men boldly attacked the place, but in the course of a desperate struggle which occurred on the town being alarmed, Drake was dangerously wounded, and had to be conveyed on board ship.

It gives a very strange idea of the state of things then existing between England and Spain when we read that immediately after this unprovoked attack by Drake on *Nombre de Dios*, that captain was visited by a *Hidalgo*,

who protested that the object of his coming was to see and admire one who had shown such courage. No doubt this gentleman had other objects in view; but it is somewhat remarkable that he should have trusted his person in a pirate's den; for it must be remembered that, as England was not then at war with Spain, Drake can only be described as a buccaneer. This *Hidalgo* was, however, very courteously received, and departed protesting that he had never been honoured so much in his life.

The pinnaces now returned to the Isle of *Pinos*, where Drake parted company with Captain Rowse. He next despatched his brother to examine the river *Chagre*, and on his return he departed for *Cartagena*, where he took two Spanish ships. His next enterprise was against a great ship of Seville, which he obtained possession of by fighting. The town being alarmed, Drake determined to burn one of his ships, in order that he might have the means of manning his pinnaces. He then proceeded to the Sound of *Darien*, where they cleared a space of ground to build houses. Drake then went with his brother, with two pinnaces, to the *Rio Grande*, passing out of sight of *Cartagena*, between which place and *Tolon* they took six frigates laden with provisions. Three days later they arrived at *Pinos*. On the third of November Drake fell in with a Spanish ship, which he captured.

But now Drake's company were visited by heavy sickness, which was attributed to the cold which the men suffered from whilst in the pinnaces. On returning to the ships on the 27th of November, they learned of the death of John Drake and of Richard Allen, who were slain whilst attempting to board a frigate. On the 3rd of January six of the company fell sick and died within two or three days, whilst as many as thirty were stricken down with fever. Joseph Drake, another of the captain's brothers, died, and likewise the surgeon.

Drake now determined to proceed by land to *Panamá*,

having by the 3rd of February lost twenty-eight of his men. He took with him forty-eight, eighteen being English and the rest *Symerons*, and in a few days reached *Venta Cruz*. The chief of these people dwelt sixteen leagues south-east of *Panamá*, and Drake now thought that he might with advantage waylay a party carrying treasure across the isthmus. But, owing to the awkwardness of one of his people, he and they were discovered. He nevertheless attacked the party, and pursued them as far as *Venta Cruz*.

On his journey thither Drake was informed of a certain tree, from the top of which he might discern a branch of the Atlantic Ocean on the one hand and of the Pacific on the other. One of the *Symerons* desired him to ascend "that goodlie and great high tree," in the trunk of which notches were cut in order to facilitate the ascent. From the top of this tree, the English mariner, viewing the distant Pacific, solemnly besought God to give him life and leave once to sail an English ship in those seas.

Returning to *Venta Cruz*, which he took and rifled, he intercepted a convoy of fifty mules, bearing a large quantity of silver, of which he appropriated what he could carry. With some difficulty he rejoined his pinnaces, when he resolved to return to *England*. He reached Plymouth on Sunday the 9th of August 1573, whilst divine service was being conducted. The church was forthwith deserted, all rushing out to welcome the gallant captain, who had been absent one year and two months.

1575. In the course of the five years during which Drake reposed upon his laurels, before undertaking his voyage round the world, John Oxenham, who had been one of his companions in his late expedition, set out in a vessel of one hundred and forty tons' burden, with twenty seamen, for the Isthmus of *Darien*. Having learnt at *Porto*

Bello that a convoy of muleteers was expected from *Panamá*, he marched to meet them, proceeding over the mountains to a small river which falls into the Southern Sea. Building a pinnace, he then dropped down into the Bay of *Panamá* and proceeded to the *Pearl Islands*, where he took possession of a small barque from the port of *Quito* (probably *Guayaquil*), in which he found sixty pounds' weight of gold. Six days later he was still further enriched by the plunder of a barque from *Lima*, bearing a hundred pounds' weight of silver in bars.

Unfortunately for the daring Oxenham, he was not contented with silver and gold, but delayed on the island for fifteen days in search of pearls. During this time, as he might have foreseen, intelligence of his presence reached the Spaniards; and Captain Ortega was despatched with four barques in search of him. The Spaniard learned that Oxenham had gone up the river, and astutely traced his course by the quantity of fowls' feathers floating down the stream. After four days' pursuit, Oxenham's pinnace was descried; but the Englishmen, all save six, had left her, taking the treasure with them. The treasure, however, was soon afterwards discovered, and with this Ortega was about to depart, when Oxenham came down upon him with about two hundred *Symerons*. The Spaniards, who were eighty in number, had the better of the fight, killing eleven of the English, together with some Indians, with very slight loss on their own side.

Oxenham now endeavoured to make the best of his way to his ship; but information of its presence had been sent to *Nombre de Dios*, and his vessel had been carried a prize to that port. Meanwhile a party of a hundred and fifty men were scouring the mountains in search of the English. On their being found, some were made prisoners and others fled; but in the end all were conveyed to *Panamá*, where the fearless rover, not being able to produce any power or commission from the Queen, was sentenced, as were his companions, to suffer

the death of a pirate. All of the party were then executed, with the exception of Oxenham, his master, his pilot, and five boys, who were sent to *Lima*. There the boys were pardoned, but the three men suffered the fate to which they had been condemned.

To return to Drake: that famous captain set out from Plymouth in a squadron, manned by one hundred and sixty-three seamen, on the 13th of September 1577, and sailed to the coast of *Barbary* for refreshments. He commenced his depredations by seizing three Spanish fishing-boats; he likewise captured three *caravels*. From *Cape Blanco* he proceeded to the *Cape de Verdes*, and thence stood for the Island of *St. Iago*, where he captured a Portuguese ship. Near the equator his vessels were becalmed for three weeks, and for fifty-five days Drake saw no land before arriving on the coast of *Brazil*.

The expedition touched in the river *Plate*, but merely remained a short time, when it proceeded to the southward, and anchored in a bay in forty-seven degrees S. latitude. Two of his ships were now missing, but one of them was here found by a vessel sent in search of them. In these parts our countrymen first became acquainted with the race who derive the name by which they are known to us from the height of *Pentagones*, or five cubits, equal to seven and a half feet, with which Magellan credited them. Mr. Fletcher, who accompanied Drake, states that these people were of large stature, but he does not ascribe to them gigantic proportions. At a later period, Commodore Byron described one of these Patagonians as a frightful colossus of not less than seven feet. He was no doubt an exception. They are in fact a tall race, but not more so than well-grown Englishmen. Writing only the other day, Lady Florence Dixie states that a tall Patagonian was of precisely the same height as her husband, namely, six feet two inches, and there is no reason to suppose that the race has physically degenerated since Magellan's time.

On the 20th of June Drake's whole force anchored in *Fort St. Julian*, where two of his men were shot by the natives. One of the objects which attracted attention was a gibbet which had been set up by Magellan seventy years before. At this place Mr. John Doughty was put on his trial for conspiring to raise a mutiny in the fleet, and, being found guilty by a jury, was condemned to be beheaded. The fleet was now reduced to the "Pelican," which name was soon changed to the "Golden Hind," the "Elizabeth," and the "Marigold," with which on the 20th of August Drake arrived at the entrance of the *Straits of Magellan*. On one side he observed an island "burning aloft in the air in a wonderful sort without intermission." 1578.

On the 6th of September, having passed the strait, Drake entered the Pacific, which term must have seemed to him rather a misnomer, since he found it rough and turbulent above measure, a tempest carrying his ships a hundred leagues to the westward and separating them. It may be observed that this was the second occasion on which the *Straits of Magellan* had been passed. Near the western outlet, Drake landed on an island which he named after Queen Elizabeth.

It was now the mariner's intention to proceed northwards into a warm climate; but a terrific tempest carried the ships southward of *Cape Horn*, thus giving to Drake the distinction of being the first European to view the union of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. *Cape Horn* had, it is said, been sighted by the Spanish Commodore Lope de Loyaya in 1525, and was doubled by Le Maire and Schouten in 1646, the latter bestowing upon it the name of *Hoorn*, his native place in Holland.* On endeavouring to regain their way northwards, the "Marigold" was lost with all hands, whilst the "Golden Hind" and the "Elizabeth" were separated, the latter vessel, on re-entering the strait, giving up the voyage "by Captain Winter's compulsion, full sore against the mariners' minds."

* It had previously been passed by Brouwer in 1642. See page 39, vol. ii.

Drake's ship being now left alone with the little pinnace, was again driven back into the latitude of 55° south, in which the captain anchored among some islands. After two days, however, they were driven from their anchorage, when the pinnace lost sight of the ship. By good fortune the former re-entered the *Straits of Magellan*, and her crew of eight men proceeded to *Port St. Julian*, and thence to the *Plata*. Of the eight men, four were captured by Indians, two wounded men died, and the remaining two stayed on a small island for two months, subsisting on crabs, eels, and fruit, but without water. They at length succeeded in reaching the mainland, when one of the two survivors died from the effects of drinking too much of the stream.*

Meanwhile Drake, in the "Golden Hind," proceeded towards the north-west. He fell in with two islands, where he laid in a supply of fowls, and then continued his course to the island of *Macho*, inhabited by Indians, by whom some of his men were attacked and slain. Drake himself was hit in the face by an arrow, and he likewise received another wound in the head. On the 13th of November he captured an Indian in a bay called *St. Philip*, whom he treated with kindness, and dismissed to rejoin his countrymen, who brought fowls, eggs, and a hog to the boat. An Indian chief now joined Drake's vessel, and conducted it to *Valparaiso*, where he met with such stores as he needed, and parted with his Indian pilot.

On the 19th of December the "Golden Hind" entered a bay near a town called *Cyppo*, where three hundred Spaniards and Indians came down to the shore, one of Drake's men being slain. The navigator now proceeded to the north, where a pinnace was set up in a convenient spot, in order that search might be made in the creeks for intelligence of the missing ships.

The next place landed at was *Tarapaca*, in about 20°

* "Purchas," from Curder's narrative.

S. latitude, where a Spaniard was found asleep, with a bundle of thirteen silver bars at his side, valued at four thousand *ducats*. The sleeper himself remained uninjured otherwise than by his loss. In another place eight *llamas* were taken, laden with one hundred pounds' weight of silver. Still further on Drake reached a town where the Spaniards agreed to traffic with him. On the 7th of February he arrived before *Arica*, where he took some barques carrying much silver. On the 15th he reached *Callao*, the port of *Lima*, which harbour he entered without resistance, although thirty vessels were gathered within it. Of these he plundered seventeen, which were laden. The vessels had no one on board, as the visit of an enemy was the last event which was expected. In one of these ships alone were found fifteen hundred bars of silver, whilst another contained a large chest of coined money.

Drake took the precaution of cutting the cables of these vessels before he set out in pursuit of a ship laden with gold and silver, which had on the eve of his arrival departed for *Panamá*. As he was on his way he fell in with a brigantine, from which he helped himself to eighty pounds' weight of gold, together with other treasures. At length he came in sight of the "*Cacafuego*," about one hundred and fifty leagues from *Panamá*, when she was boarded and easily captured. From her Drake obtained pearls and precious stones, together with eighty pounds' weight of gold and thirteen chests of silver. It was estimated that the "*Golden Hind*" now carried a treasure of ninety thousand pounds. The "*Cacafuego*" was permitted to go on her way, Drake's object being plunder and not wanton destruction.

He had good reason to avoid *Panamá*, so he stood to the westward, where he fell in with another ship, the pilot of which he retained for his own service. It is not within the plan of this work to follow the adventurous navigator to *North America* or on his further course over

the globe, on completing which he reached Plymouth on the 26th of September 1580, having been absent two years, ten months, and some odd days, during which time he had, in the expressive language of an old writer, "ploughed up a furrow round the world." It may be permitted, however, to mention one or two points, as throwing light upon the very singular history of the relations between Spain and England at that period, and as therefore illustrating the position in which the Spanish possessions in South America were placed.

The arrival of Drake at Plymouth was hailed, as on a former occasion, with the most warm welcome, the mayor and corporation receiving him, and the bells of St. Andrew's Church ringing a continuous peal during the day, whilst the gentlemen of the neighbourhood vied with the burghers to do him honour. But all was not quite clear on Drake's horizon. That he had committed acts against Spain which could only be justified by his country being at war with that power was abundantly clear. Drake was therefore in one of two positions. Either he was an officer bearing letters of marque, or other authority, from Queen Elizabeth, which entitled him to commit the acts which he had committed, in which case Elizabeth was at war with Spain; or he had committed these unquestioned acts of piracy on his own account, in which case he was liable to punishment, and the Spaniards whom he had plundered were entitled to demand restitution of the losses they had sustained through his acts.

Queen Elizabeth and her Ministers took five months to decide this point, in which they were so deeply interested and on which so much depended. During this time Drake remained in semi-disgrace, since no ray of court favour fell upon him. It may readily be imagined with what doubts the Queen was at this time perplexed. That she heartily approved of the deeds of Drake, and that she gloried in him as a gallant navigator, no one

would for a moment question ; but, on the other hand, there was the supposed colossal power of Spain, backed by the Church,—so soon to be shivered against the force of England, but a contest with which was not lightly to be entered upon.

Fortunately for the human race, Queen Elizabeth and her counsellors determined to take upon themselves the responsibility of avowing the acts of Drake, who, whilst the issues of the question concerning him were being discussed, received the complimentary appellation of “the master thiefe of the unknowne word,” which it must be admitted he fully deserved. It may be interesting to state that the immediate pecuniary results of this voyage to Drake himself, and to his partners and fellow-adventurers, after all charges had been paid, was four thousand seven hundred per cent. He was likewise knighted and promoted to the rank of admiral, whilst in the “Golden Hind” he was visited by the Queen.

Drake’s next voyage to the westward, undertaken in 1585, and to which a tinge of romance is given from the connection with it of Sir Philip Sidney, has so little bearing on South America that it need not occupy our time. Nor is this the place to state the part which the gallant seaman played in the defeat of the Spanish *Armada*. But one more line must be written to conclude the story of Hawkins and of Drake with reference to the colonies of Spain.

The power of England had been so clearly pointed out to be upon the waves, that her rulers, anxious to pursue their advantage, determined to employ her two most valiant and renowned sea-captains for working the yet further detriment of Spain. Accordingly, in the year 1593, the Queen gave notice that she intended to place 1593. a fleet under Sir Francis Drake, to whom in the following year was associated his old patron, Hawkins.

Sir John Hawkins was now an admiral, between seventy-five and eighty years of age ; and as he was,

moreover, wealthy, he showed more zeal than discretion in venturing once more upon the climate of the West Indies. Even ten years before this period the veteran had given proof that he was no longer the man he had been. Together with Frobisher, he had held command of ten of the Queen's ships to scour the coasts of Spain ; but at the end of seven months they had returned without having taken a single vessel and without having effected anything. The Queen was naturally indignant at such waste of force and of time, and Hawkins deemed it necessary to excuse himself. The old slave-dealer had been always very pious, and on this occasion he deemed it fitting to remind her Majesty that Paul planteth and Apollos watereth, but that God giveth the increase. This quotation from Scripture was, under the circumstances, a little out of place. Elizabeth's comment upon it was, "God's death! This fool went out a soldier and is come home a divine."

The squadron which the Queen had ordered to proceed to South America under the joint command of the two admirals, sailed from Plymouth on the 28th of August 1595. But it was doomed to disaster throughout its course. One vessel, the "Francis," was taken by the Spaniards ; and whilst preparing to pass through the *Virgin Islands*, Hawkins became extremely sick, and soon breathed his last. At *Puerto Rico* a great shot struck the mizen-mast of Drake's ship, whilst another shot knocked the stool on which he was seated from under him. Every preparation had been made for the defence of the harbour and town ; but, in spite of a heavy fire, the English persisted in their desperate attempts, until they had lost some forty or fifty killed and as many wounded. They were, however, eventually compelled to retire, after having inflicted very severe losses on the enemy.

Drake now proceeded to the *Caribbean* shore and took the town of *La Hacha*, the inhabitants of which ransomed themselves for thirty thousand *ducats*. *Rancheria* and

Rio de La Hacha were burnt down to the ground, as was likewise *Santa Martha*, after which operations Drake proceeded to *Nombre de Dios*, which was soon taken and destroyed, together with all the frigates and barques in the harbour.

It was now decided that an attempt should be made on *Panamá*, and for this purpose seven hundred and fifty soldiers were selected to march over the isthmus. "The march was so sore," says Hakluyt, "as never Englishmen marched before;" and in the end it was deemed best, after the loss of between eighty and ninety men, to make their way back to the fleet.

On the 15th of January, Sir Francis Drake began to 1596
keep his cabin; and on the 28th of that month, at four o'clock in the morning, he departed this life. His body was conveyed to *Puerto Bello*, where it was solemnly committed to the deep.

The third of the three great men who may be said to have created between them England's position as Mistress of the Waves, and to have given the English navy the character which it bears, is Sir Walter Raleigh. Hawkins represents the old English unthinking, unreasoning, loyal, slave-hunting, religious skipper. Drake, in turn, represented a much higher phase of English sea-life. It is true that in his early days he commanded a vessel in one of Hawkins' slave-hunting expeditions; but, to his great credit, he seems to have been so disgusted on this occasion, that he never afterwards soiled his hands by dealing in this unholy and abominable traffic. He was a corsair, but at the same time a conscientious man. At *San Juan d'Ulloa* and elsewhere he and his companions had suffered grievous wrongs and treachery at the hands of the Spanish authorities, wrongs for which he had in vain sought reparation at Madrid. He therefore conceived himself—and in this belief he was confirmed by a

chaplain of his fleet—to be fully entitled to exact on his own account the reparation which was refused him by the Spanish Government; and it is to be noted that he sought simply reparation, and that he is, throughout his career, entirely exempt from charges of cruelty and of wanton depredation.

Hawkins and Drake were self-made men. They each rose to the rank of admiral from the manly class which furnishes our seamen before the mast. Raleigh, on the other hand, although not of aristocratic birth, and although not, strictly speaking, a seaman by profession, yet did almost everything towards the formation of the aristocratic element in our navy. It was the gifted favourite of Elizabeth who induced many a youth of the highest social circles to seek for distant ventures, and who thus created the tradition by which the noblest families of England, from that of the Queen downwards, devote one of their sons to the same toils, perils, and honours which, in degree, befall all ranks of our navy. Raleigh was ambitious for his country, for which, with prophetic vision, he foresaw its place as Mistress of the Deep. With the famous patent granted to him on March 25, 1584, to search out and take possession of new lands in the western hemisphere, we have only to deal in so far as it concerns *Guyana*.

Raleigh had already led the way to the planting of the English race in North America; he next directed his speculations towards the southern hemisphere, and projected an expedition to *Guyana*. As a preliminary measure he despatched a barque, under Captain Whiddon, to survey the coast of that portion of South America. The object he had in view was to explore and subdue *Guyana*, for the sake of the riches which it was supposed to possess. With a fleet of five ships, and with a gallant company of gentlemen, he sailed from Plymouth on the 6th of February 1595, and reached the Island of *Trinidad*, where he destroyed the new city of *San Jose*. There

leaving his ships, he proceeded with barges, boats, and launches to explore the outlets of the *Orinoco*.

He toiled up the network of streams, through tropical thunder, lightning, and rain. He beheld the great river swelling like a sea between masses of luxuriant vegetation, profuse in tropical fruits and flowers, and looked down upon from a huge height by the snow-clad *Andes* and by the *Condor*; but he saw no gold, nor did he discover any mines. The setting-in of the rainy season put a period to his explorations; and, leaving behind him a man and a boy to serve as interpreters on his return, he set sail for England, taking with him a young *Cacique*.

Long years were to elapse before Sir Walter Raleigh again hoisted his flag on the Atlantic. When he did so, a new order of things had arisen in England, since thirteen years before he had been committed to the Tower, from which he emerged on the 19th of March 1616. 1616. The destination of the squadron which he now organized was again *Guyana*. A hundred noblemen and gentlemen hastened to join the standard of the renowned commander, whilst there was no lack of mariners eager to serve under an admiral whose capacity has never been exceeded by any one in the long list of our naval heroes.

On the 11th of November 1617, Raleigh, now sixty-five years of age, reached *Guyana*, after a voyage which was in every way disastrous, and which had left himself in impaired health and the force at his command in diminished strength. His spirit, however, was still sanguine, as he drifted towards the *Orinoco* between the islands, in one of which is laid the scene of "Robinson Crusoe." On reaching the river, it was found impossible for the larger vessels, including Raleigh's own ship, the "Destiny," to cross the bar, and as he was in too enfeebled a condition to lead the expedition inland in person, he had to relinquish the command to another,

whilst he himself remained cruising between the *Orinoco* and *Trinidad*, being so weak that he had to be carried about in a chair.

Meanwhile, a considerable force ascended the river, under Captain Kemys and Sir Walter's son. *Guyana* certainly belonged to England, if to any foreign nation, since on the occasion of Raleigh's former expedition the *Caciques*, who had welcomed him as their deliverer from their Spanish neighbours, had declared their allegiance to England. But during his long absence Spanish settlements had been formed in the country.

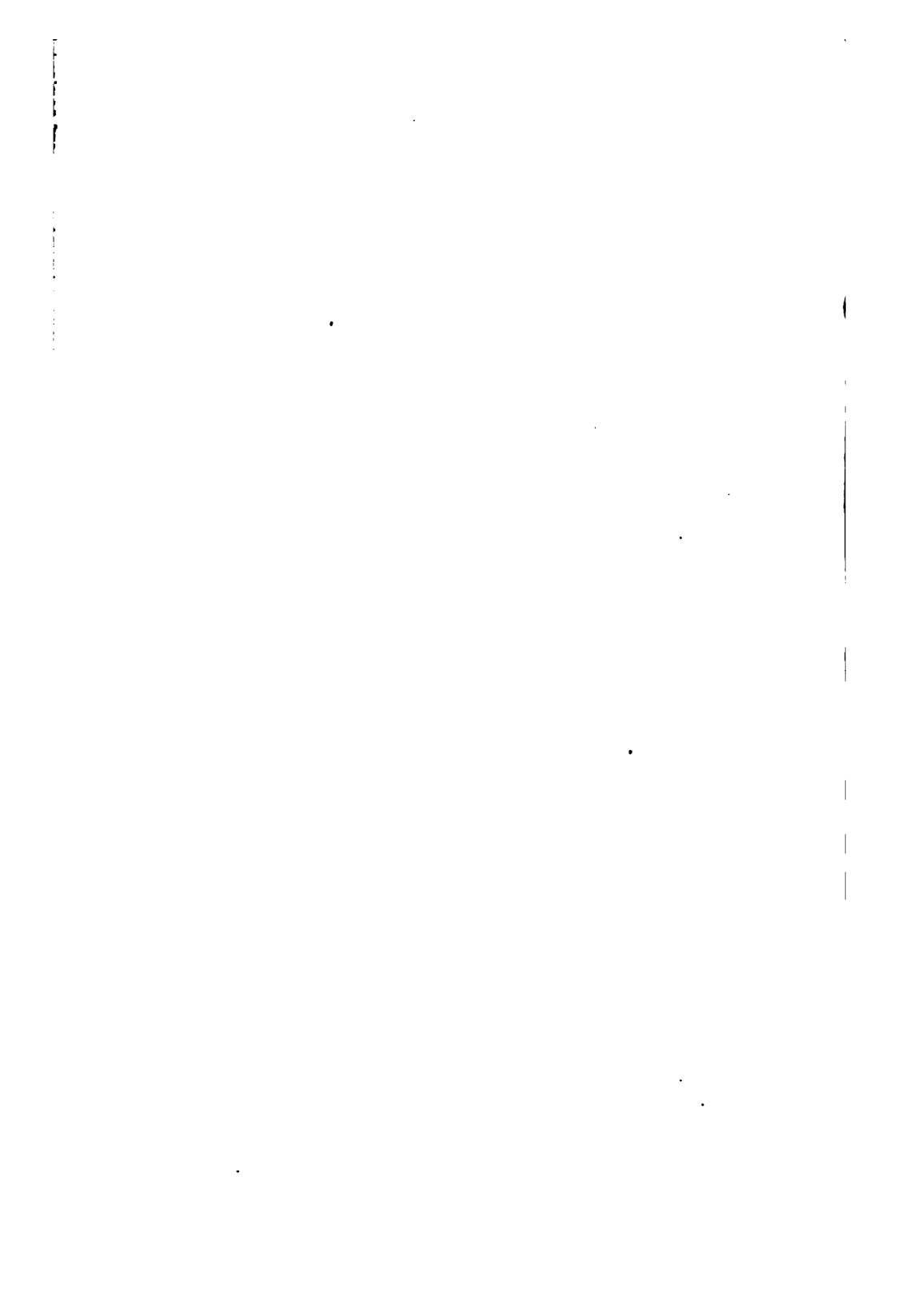
Kemys proceeded up the *Orinoco*, his orders being to make for the mines without offering molestation; but if he were attacked he was to repel force by force. When encamped for the night half-way to the mines, he was set upon by the Spaniards, who hoped to take him by surprise, but who were repulsed, and who retreated, closely pursued by young Raleigh, who fell in the pursuit. The existence of mines was, however, proved, since four gold refineries were found in *San Pome*.

But Kemys had lost heart. The passes were in the hands of Spaniards, as were the forests and the banks of the streams, so that his followers were constantly shot down by unseen enemies. Returning, therefore, down the river, he rejoined his chief, with what was literally a sentence of death to the latter. Kemys could not bear his friend's reproaches, and, in utter despair, he took his own life.

Four months later Raleigh was again in England, and on the 28th of October of the same year he expiated on Tower Hill his want of success; the illustrious victim being offered up by the contemptible James as a sacrifice to the implacable vengeance of Spain.

NOTE.—Chapter XVII. is founded on
"Life of Sir John Hawkins," by Samuel Johnson, 2nd edition.
1787.

- "Hawkins, (Sir John). Two Voyages made to the West Indies,"
Hakluyt, III.
- "Sir Francis Drake ; The World Encompassed" (Hakluyt Society).
1854.
- "Voyages of Drake ;" Hakluyt, II. IV. ; Purchas, I. IV.
- "Life of Drake," by Barrow.
- "Raleigh (Sir Walter) ; Discovery of Guiana" (Hakluyt Society).
1848.
- "Discovery of Guiana," by Musham (Hakluyt, II.).
- "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," by James Augustus St. John. 1868.



APPENDIX.



I.

It would naturally be expected that in a work of this kind there should be some reference made to the long-pending discussion respecting the letter addressed by Amerigo Vespucci to Lorenzo de Medici, by which it would appear that Vespucci had visited the coast of *Pária* in the year 1497—that is to say, in the year previous to that of the first visit of Columbus to the South-American continent; and that therefore, supposing this visit to be established, Amerigo Vespucci, and not Columbus, was the first European discoverer of the South-American continent. This question is one of the very first importance as regards history or geography; since on its solution depends not only the question after whom the great South-American continent should be called, but likewise the fair fame of Vespucci's name.

Since no new points have, to my knowledge, arisen of sufficient importance to disturb what seems to me to be the necessarily final judgment arrived at by Washington Irving, and which had previously been concurred in by Robertson, and which is to be seen in the Appendix No. X. to Irving's work, entitled "The Voyages of the Companions of Columbus," I must confine myself to referring my readers to what seem to me the irrefutable arguments therein brought forward. I may at the same time refer them to the arguments, in a contrary direction, in the "*Viaggi di Amerigo Vespucci di Stanislao Canovai; Firenze,*" 1832.

II.

THE Italian traveller Benzoni, who has been referred to in the preceding pages, has been quoted by Robertson, Irving, and Helps ; but, considering the unique position which he holds as being the first foreign critic of the proceedings of the Spaniards in South America, I scarcely think that his volume has received the full attention which it deserves at the hands of modern writers on Spanish South America. I would therefore draw attention to some extracts from his work, begging the reader to bear in mind that they proceed by no means from a man of the mould of Las Casas, but from one who, by his own confession, took part in a slave-hunting expedition. The author in question was nevertheless, as he states, a devout Christian, and he dedicates his history of the New World to Pope Pius IV.

Benzoni started for America in the year 1541, and there spent fourteen years of toil and travail. Landing at the Gulf of *Páris*, he proceeded to *Cuba* and other islands, returning thence to *Acla*, whence he crossed to *Panamá*, from which place he visited the kingdom of *Peru*. In this wandering course he passed fourteen years. Benzoni is the author who is originally responsible for the well-known story of Columbus and the egg. He states that whilst at *Amaracapaná* (Book I. p. 8) Captain Calice arrived with upwards of four thousand slaves and had captured many more. "When some of them could not walk, the Spaniards, to prevent their remaining behind to make war, killed them by burying their swords in their sides or their breasts. It was really a most distressing thing to see the way in which these wretched creatures, naked, tired, and lame, were treated ; exhausted with hunger, sick, and despairing ; the unfortunate mothers, with two and three children on their shoulders or clinging round their necks, overwhelmed with tears and grief, all tied with cords or with iron chains round their necks, or their arms, or their hands. Nor was there a girl but had been violated by the depredators."

At page 159, Benzoni observes that Spaniards have eulogised

themselves too much when they tell us that they are worthy of great praise for having converted to Christianity the tribes and nations that they subjugated ; for there is a great difference between the name and the being one in reality.

“The slaves are all marked in the face and on the arms by a hot iron with the mark of C ; * then the governors and captains do as they like with them ; some are given to the soldiers, so that the Spaniards afterwards sell them or gamble them away among each other. When ships arrive from Spain, they barter these Indians for wine, flour, biscuit, and other requisite things. And even when some of the Indian women are pregnant by these same Spaniards, they sell them without any conscience. Then the merchants carry them elsewhere and sell them again. Others are sent to the island of *Spagnuola* (*Hispaniola*), filling with them some large vessels built like *caravels*. They carry them under the deck ; and being nearly all people captured inland, they suffer severely the sea horrors ; and not being allowed to move out of those sinks, what with their sickness and their other wants, they have to stand in the filth like animals ; and the sea often being calm, water and other provisions fail them, so that the poor wretches, oppressed by the heat, the stench, the thirst, and the crowding, miserably expire there below. Now all that country around the Gulf of *Pária* and other places are no longer inhabited by the Spaniards.”

“ Finally, out of the two millions of original inhabitants (of *Hispaniola*), through the number of suicides and other deaths, occasioned by the oppressive labour and cruelties imposed by the Spaniards, there are not a hundred and fifty now to be found : and this has been their way of making Christians of them. What befell these poor islanders has happened also to all the others around : *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *Porto Rico*, and other places. And although an almost infinite number of the inhabitants of the mainland have been brought to these islands as slaves, they have nearly all since died.”

* The initial letter of the Emperor Charles V.

“And there being among the Spaniards some who are not only cruel, but very cruel. When a man occasionally wished to punish a slave, either for some crime that he had committed, or for not having extracted the usual quantity of silver or gold from the mine, when he came home at night, instead of giving him supper, he made him undress, if he happened to have a shirt on, and being thrown down on the ground, he had his hands and feet tied to a piece of wood laid across, so permitted under the rule called by the Spaniards the Law of Bajona, a law suggested, I think, by some great demon; then with a thong or rope he was beaten until his body streamed with blood; which done, they took a pound of pitch or a pipkin of boiling oil, and threw it gradually all over the unfortunate victim; then he was washed with some of the country pepper mixed with salt and water. He was thus left on a plank covered over with a cloth until his master thought he was again able to work. Others dug a hole in the ground and put the man in upright, leaving only his head out, and left him in it all night, the Spaniards saying that they have recourse to this cure because the earth absorbs the blood and preserves the flesh from forming any wound, so they get well sooner. And if any die (which sometimes happens) through great pain, there is no heavier punishment by law than that the master shall pay another (slave) to the king. Thus, on account of these very great cruelties in the beginning, some of them escaped from their masters, and wandered about the island in a state of desperation.”



